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ABSTRACT

The following are among the 56 papers included in this proceedings: "Contextual Factors Associated with Evaluation Practices of Selected Adult and Continuing Education Providers in Malaysia" (S. Ahmad); "The Professional Ethic and the Spirit of Post-Modernism" (P. Armstrong); "Transforming the Teacher-Student Relationship" (R. M. Bounous); "Humanistic Adult Education" (R. G. Brockett); "The Postmodern Challenge to Clarity" (S. Brookfield); "The Processes of Adult Learning" (L. A. Cavaliere); "Doing Interpretive Research in a Technocratic Age" (D. M. Chovanec); "Evoking a Global Consciousness" (E. L. Christensen); "Using Cluster Analysis in Adult Education" (G. J. Conti); "The Centrality of Meaning-Making in Transformational Learning" (B. Courtenay, S. B. Merriam, P. M. Reeves); "Knowledge and Self" (S. Courtney); "Nonparticipation in Adult Education Programs" (D. Davis-Harrison); "An Initial Pilot Scheme towards an International Comparative Adult Education Research Approach" (A. Duman); "Post-literacy in Niger" (P. Easton, L. M. Moussa); "Women's Continuous Learning in the Workplace" (T.J. Fenwick); "Women's Learning" (D. D. Flannery, E. Hayes); "The Impact of Language Functioning among African American Adult Learners in an Adult Basic Education Classroom" (D. Flowers, V. Sheared); "Informal Learning" (J. Garrick, P. Hager); "Some Recent Australian Research on Workplace Learning and Training" (A. Gonczi); "Adult Educators as Border Crossers" (A. P. Grace); "Cultural Pluralism as Adult Education" (T. C. Guy, L. O'Neill, A. D. Rose); "Family Literacy" (D. F. Hemphill, A. K. Allen); "Creating a Learning Organization, Creating a

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Controlling Organization" (S. L. Howell et al.); "The Professional Development of Adult Education Professors" (L. Hwang); "Metaphors across Models" (P. J. Ilecki); "Developing Critical Reflective Thinking among Church Leaders in Sub-Saharan Africa" (C. E. Kingsbury); "The Use of Learning Strategies" (R. C. Kolody, G. J. Conti); "Rediscovering Hope in a New Era" (M. Law); "Faculty Awareness and Use of Adult Learning Principles" (P. A. Lawler, A. D. DeCosmo, S. C. Wilhite); "A Descriptive Case Study of the Impact of Social Learning Experiences on Adult Female Inmates" (J. D. McKinney); "Learning that Comes from the Negative Interpretation of Life Experiences" (S. B. Merriam, V. Mott, M. Lee); "Impact of Economic Crisis and Structural Adjustment on Education and Training in Africa" (D. C. Mulenga); "Ingredients for College Success: Looking through the Eyes of African American Adults" (J. M. Ross-Gordon, F. Brown-Haywood); "Women Mentoring Women" (J. Stalker); and "Feminist Pedagogy and Adult Learning" (E. J. Tisdell). (MN)

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37th Annual

Adult Education Research Conference

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May 16, 1996

Dear AERC Participants,

The Adult Education Program is proud to welcome all of you to University of South Florida and the 37th Annual Adult Education Research Conference. We are pleased to have this opportunity to show off the quality of our program, our students, and our activities. We have made every effort to make this a conference you will not forget.

One of the few benefits about being conference chair is the chance to brag about what we have accomplished and to thank the people who have toiled long and hard.

Special acknowledgment is due to my colleagues, Drs. Bill Blank and Dan Gardner for their support. Particular appreciation is due Kathleen Hargiss and Liza Stewart, without whom this conference might not have happened. Lastly, thank you to Jim Witte, President of the Adult and Vocational Education Student Association, and to all its members for freely providing their skills, time, and expertise to insure that you, the participant, will have a memorable time with us.

Again, welcome to Florida, welcome to Tampa, and welcome to USF and the Adult Education Program. We hope you enjoy your time with us.

Sincerely,

Waynne

Waynne B. James
Conference Chairperson

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May 16, 1996

To all AERC participants,

On behalf of the Adult and Vocational Education Student Association, it is my pleasure to welcome you to the University of South Florida. There is a wide range of scheduled activities both on and off campus. We invite you to take full advantage of this opportunity to share with others both professionally and socially.

If you have any questions, please contact your nearest "AVESO Ambassador" for assistance. We are proud of our program and our campus and most of all, we would like to help make your stay with us as productive and pleasant as possible.

Sincerely,

James E. Witte
President
Adult and Vocational Education Student Association

TAMPA ST. PETERSBURG SARASOTA FORT MYERS LAKELAND

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH FLORIDA IS AN AFFIRMATIVE ACTION EQUAL ACCESS EQUAL OPPORTUNITY INSTITUTION

Dear AERC '96 Participants,

On behalf of the steering committee, we welcome you to the 37th Annual Adult Education Research Conference. We hope your time in Tampa will be both personally and professionally rewarding.

By participating in this conference you join a lengthy and proud tradition of inquiry and dissemination. This conference has become a major forum for the advancement of knowledge related to adult education; the record of our proceedings is a primary resource for scholars in the field.

As a forum, the Adult Education Research Conference cherishes a tradition of collegiality that embraces graduate students, faculty, and practitioners in a culture of fellowship and inquiry. Papers and symposia stand on their merit, not on the professional reputations of the author(s). As a record, this set of proceedings will enter the ranks of 36 volumes which trace the development of knowledge of the field. We hope you enjoy both the culture of our gathering and the record of our scholarship.

Finally, we want to acknowledge the considerable work and dedication of our hosts, the University of South Florida. Under the guidance of faculty advisor, Dr. Waynne James, conference organizers Kathleen Hargiss and Eizabeth Steinhardt Stewart have ensured a smooth running conference with exciting additions to our program. We also thank the Adult and Vocational Education Students Organization for their work and dedication to presenting a successful thirty-seventh conference.

37th Annual Adult Education Research Conference Steering Committee

Scipio A. J. Colin III	North Carolina State University
Sean Courtney	University of Nebraska
Sue Scott	University of Alberta
Frank Rowland	Montana State University

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CONTEXTUAL FACTORS ASSOCIATED WITH EVALUATION PRACTICES OF SELECTED ADULT AND CONTINUING EDUCATION PROVIDERS IN MALAYSIA

Shamsuddin Ahmad, Ed. D

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Abstract: Provided in this qualitative multiple case study are descriptions of how selected developmental agencies in Malaysia carried out program evaluation and what factors influenced the practice. Data were gathered from interviews with evaluation practitioners and from official documents. Evaluation practice of the agencies was not systematic nor comprehensive. Four contextual factors shaping the practice that emerged from the data are discussed.

There are more than fifty different theories and models of program evaluation found in the literature (Steele, 1989). These theories and models are general in nature and are prescribed to be applied in any situation. They are generally designed to be context-free and do not include suggestion for situational adaptions. On the other hand, evaluation practices are context specific. The practices are carried out in many different contextual environments. In deciding which evaluation approach to use, evaluation practitioners must consider many contextual factors (Shadish & Epstein, 1987) ranging from the political and organizational to personal milieu. This idiosyncratic nature may explain why evaluation practices are different from approaches prescribed by theory and models in the literature.

The reason of the discrepancy between program evaluation theory and practice is not well-researched, especially from the perspective of the practitioners of evaluation. Previous studies on the practice of program evaluation have not investigated in detail the contextual factors that influence how an evaluation is implemented. Most of the studies focus on the comparison of actual evaluation practices with that of the method suggested by evaluation models (Shadish & Epstein, 1987). Some authors suggest the lack of resources as the main obstacle (Sork & Caffarella, 1989), while others suggest inadequate planning for conducting the data analysis Knox (1986). In addition, Rossi and Freeman (1993) suggest that politics, ethics, time, money, and availability of human resources are the constraints and limitations that prevent the use of a more formal, systematic, and comprehensive approach to program evaluation. On the other hand, Forest (1976), Knowles (1980), Brookfield (1986), and Steele (1989) question the existing evaluation theories and models prescribed in the literature. According to them, many models are not suitable for the adult and continuing education field. The models do not take into consideration the nature and philosophy of adult and continuing education.

The preferred evaluation approach in Malaysia is comparable to the preferred paradigm in the United States. The ideal evaluation approach suggested in Malaysian literature is the use of a formal, systematic, and comprehensive evaluation (Maimunah, 1990). However, it is suggested that the practice of program evaluation in Malaysia also do not follow the theory and models prescribed in the literature. This phenomena is comparable to what is happening in the United States. There is a disjunction between theory and practice of program evaluation and there is no specific study focusing on what and how contextual factors influence the practice of program evaluation. Therefore, the purpose of the study was to identify how contextual factors shape evaluation practices. Specifically, the study addressed the following questions: (1) What are the evaluation practices of different adult and continuing education agencies in Malaysia? and (2) What are the contextual factors involved in the evaluation practices of different adult and continuing education agencies in Malaysia?

METHODOLOGY

This study used the multiple qualitative case study approach because it provided more compelling and robust findings (Yin, 1989); it allows comparison of evaluation practices from different kinds of agencies, and it gives some variation of cases being studied. In addition, it allows an in-depth, holistic description and interpretation of complex real-live phenomena (Merriam & Simpson, 1989). In this manner, the research questions for this study were answered with more depth, concreteness, and more contextuality.

Criteria for Sample Selection

This study used purposive sampling to select agencies which provided a variation that would enrich the findings of the study. Three agencies were selected to represent there major program areas: agricultural development, entrepreneurial development, and continuing education. These three program areas were chosen because they were important both to the development of the country and to the adult and continuing education field in Malaysia (Malaysia, 1986; University Pertanian Malaysia, 1983; Bahman, 1992). These samples provided a maximum variation of sample suitable for the multiple case approach, which represented a range of a particular dimension (Patton, 1990). The sample selection also would give a variation for cross-case analysis.

The selection of the three agencies was determined by recommendation from a panel of four local adult education professors. A set of criteria was given to the panel as a guideline for selecting the respective agencies. The criteria included agencies which: (1) Conduct program evaluation on a regular basis (2) Have written policies or procedures on evaluation (3) Have assigned personnel responsible for evaluation and (4) Are perceived by the panel members to have successful programs.

Data Collection

This study triangulated data from interviews with evaluation practitioners and official evaluation documents. A semi-structured interview guide was used as a checklist to make sure the issues and questions were explored and asked during the interview. Since the interview was conducted in the Malaysian Language, the interview guide was translated before any actual interview was conducted. The translation was checked and verified by a certified translator in Malaysia. All interview were audio recorded with the respondents' permissions.

Evaluation documents collected in the study provided a method of verifying and augmenting the information provided through the interviews. Such documents, which are products of their context, provide real evidence grounded in real practice (Merriam, 1988). There was a variety of documents related to the purpose of this study provided by the evaluators. For example annual agency report, booklets and brochures about the agency programs, evaluation questionnaires, evaluation reports, and evaluation guide.

Data Analysis

Two types of data analysis were carried out in this study. First, data was analyzed within each case followed by cross-case analysis. Cross-case analysis was conducted to build "categories, themes, or typologies that conceptualize the data from all the cases" (Merriam, 1988, p. 156).

Basically both types of analysis were the same except that cross-case analysis was carried out to compare the initial findings from each of three cases. Cross-case analysis is useful to build a general explanation that is common for all the three cases (Yin, 1989).

The data were analyzed simultaneously during the data collection phases. Pre-or initial analysis was started after one interview had been completed and transcribed in order to discover any relationships, patterns, constructs, or themes within the information. This initial analysis was used to refine future interview and document analysis. In the initial analysis, data were categorized, refined, fleshed out, changed or challenged. This process was continued until sources were exhausted and the category was saturated.

FINDINGS

The findings are divided into two sections: First, the case description of evaluation practices of each agency, and second, a cross-case analysis of contextual factors which shape evaluation practices in all three agencies.

Case Descriptions

Agency A was selected to represent continuing education programs. With a mission of "developing the nation through excellence in training," this agency is responsible for training public employees in the broad areas of administration and management. There are three types of evaluations conducted in this agency which include formal and informal approaches. However, the only formal evaluation required by the management is the end-of-training evaluation using the "pink form." The mid-evaluation and the oral evaluation which are initiated by the facilitator and the coordinators are informal. These two informal evaluation findings are not reported in the final quarterly and yearly evaluation reports which are sent to the agency's management.

Agency B, a statutory body, has offices in every state and district in the country, and is one of the main agricultural agencies in Malaysia. It is mandated to develop the smallholders' rubber plantation with less then 100 acres of rubber trees. The agency's mission is "to establish a prosperous smallholders' community through the development of every aspect of social-economic endeavor." Program evaluation in Agency B is conducted through regular meetings, periodic evaluation, and "on request" activity. The periodic evaluation activities which are required by the agency's administration provide information mainly on the amount of program resources that have been used, the number of clientele, and the size of rubber plantation covered by the programs. Data for this type of evaluation are gathered continuously throughout the programs. However, the latter evaluation which originated from demand outside of the agency examines the effectiveness as well as the impact of the programs while the programs are running. By doing "on request" evaluation projects with outside help, program evaluators in this agency gain experience in planning and implementing systematic program evaluations.

Agency C was selected to represent agencies which offer educational entrepreneurship programs to their clientele. According to the agency's yearly report, the mission of this agency is to "upgrade the economic and social status of 'Bumiputera' (indigenous people) through activities in entrepreneurship, corporations, equity ownership, and human resources development." Except for the entrepreneurship training program, which also measured program effectiveness by using end-evaluation questionnaires, program evaluation in Agency C was focused more on reporting program implementation as a measurement of success. Most of these evaluations were made for the purpose of budgeting and reporting the amount of money spent and how many projects or clientele had been served. There were concerns by the respondents wanting to do more systematic and comprehensive evaluations. However, without the directive from the management, the practice would stay as it was.

Contextual Factors Involved in Evaluation Practices

There were four categories of contextual factors found in the data collected. All four factors were involved in the evaluation practice of all three selected agencies. All the factors were closely related and intertwined with at least one other factor. Together as a group, the factors shaped the evaluation practice of the selected agencies.

Under the first factor, which was the importance of evaluation to management there were three elements that shaped evaluation practice: (1) Mission of public organizations (2) Organizational structure of the organization and (3) Management's attitude towards evaluation. The agency mission and how it was conducted through the nature of the programs made systematic and comprehensive evaluations inapplicable or unnecessary. The highest priority of the mission was to "help" and "give" the programs to the people. Evaluators were also directed by the management to do some form of evaluations. These evaluations were to determine the "success" of a program by showing how much input had been spent and how many people had received the program. The management only perceived evaluation from a narrow perspective and did not think in-depths evaluations were important.

Abilities of evaluators also influenced how evaluation was practiced. Their perceptions of evaluation were limited to superficial levels of objective-oriented and "strength-and-weaknesses" approaches to evaluation. Many evaluators were not fully equipped with proper program evaluation knowledge and skills because they were not perceived to be needed by the management. Evaluators were not receiving any specific evaluation training except for a few who attended short evaluation courses or had evaluation courses while studying at a university.

Culture of the clientele also influenced how evaluation was practiced. By nature, the agencies' clientele were not critical when evaluating programs. As a result, evaluation was usually high and thus gave the impression that the program and the evaluation were appropriate. Naturally the evaluation practice was accepted and continually used. The clientele's behavior also was a form of paying back the favor for programs and services they received from the agencies.

The last contextual factor was the tradition-bound evaluation practice. Evaluators were most likely to do evaluation according to what had been done before by them or by previous evaluators. This practice had become a ritual tradition that was difficult to change. Evaluation practice was taken for granted and was never formally discussed in the agencies.

SUMMARY AND DISCUSSIONS

Even though program evaluation was officially conducted in each of the agencies, the approach was minimal. The results were mainly used to "show" program success and do fiscal budgeting. Data collection consisted of a basic level of information such as the number of program inputs that had been used and the reactions of the clientele toward the programs. The practice was limited to the use of simple standardized forms and questionnaires to be completed by the evaluators and the clientele. Data were analyzed using only simple statistics such as mean, percentage, ranking, and rating. There was no evidence of any known theory or model being used. As one evaluator phrased it, "I'm not familiar with the theory and I don't know how to answer that; we just follow what our seniors did."

The findings also revealed that the four contextual factors involved were interconnected in shaping the evaluation practice. They were very specific in nature and specific in their influence on the evaluation practice. Collectively, these factors shape evaluation practice by encouraging the minimalist approach to program evaluation.

The conclusion that the evaluation approach practiced by the agencies was not systematic and comprehensive supports pervious research on evaluation practiced conducted in the United States. Even though Tyler's objective-oriented evaluation approach is the most prominent concept used by many practitioners, the practices were much simpler. Tyler's model is more systematic and comprehensive which requires a set of specific steps to be taken in order to develop the learner objectives and the appropriate evaluation instrument. Then the objectives are tested using a pre- and post-research design to find out the congruence between the objectives and the learner outcomes. Evaluation was also perceived and used to improve the program by determining the program's "strengths and weaknesses." "We do this evaluation to look at what is good and bad about the programs" and "We ask what their [the clientele] reactions to the programs are, both oral and written." This perception of evaluation was only targeted at the lowest level of an evaluation hierarchy.

While the previous research literature suggests a more general group of factors, this study found four specific factors in a group that co-exists with one another in shaping the evaluation practice. The four contextual factors were more explicit, complex, and broader in the sense that several factors were influencing evaluation practice. These factors which were identified from the study corroborate and expand the list of contextual factors which are mainly suspected or suggested in previous literature.

Evaluation practice is a complex activity, and it is not that easy to follow existing theory or models because the factors influencing the practices are many and connected. Indeed, evaluators are faced with a situation characterized by uniqueness, uncertainty, and value conflicts (Cervero, 1988) regardless of the culture in which the evaluation occurs.

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OUTSIDERS-WITHIN: THE PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT HISTORY OF AFRICAN AMERICAN FEMALE TENURED FEMALE FACULTY IN THE WHITE RESEARCH ACADEMY

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Abstract: African American female faculty continue to be underrepresented in White research universities. Those who make entry are often at the bottom of the hierarchy and are among the ones least likely to be tenured. Despite major obstacles, a few Black women are receiving tenure in the White research academy. This study examines the professional development history of five of these tenured women to gain insight into the experiences that have contributed to their successful career in the White research academy.

Background Of The Study. The underrepresentation of African American faculty in predominantly White colleges and universities remains a serious problem in our ethnically diverse society. According to the Digest on Education Statistics (1993), African American faculty comprised 4.7 percent of all full-time instructional faculty in higher education as of Fall 1991. African American female faculty comprised 2.2 percent of the full-time faculty. African American female faculty, who are associate and full professors, made up 0.6 percent of all full-time faculty and 1.2 percent of all associate and full professors (p. 227).

According to 1989-1990 data from the Higher Education Research Institute (HERI), African Americans held 2.3 percent of all faculty positions at predominantly White colleges and universities compared with approximately the same percentage in 1979 (Carter & Wilson, p. 29). The National Study of Post Secondary Faculty (October, 1994) reveals that 1.2 percent of the positions in public research universities and 1.3 percent of the positions in public doctoral universities were held by African American women. This study also revealed that in 1992 African Americans on the whole held 2.7 percent of the positions in public research universities compared to 88.4 percent held by Whites. Whites occupied 87.8 percent of the faculty positions in public doctoral universities and Blacks 2.9 percent (p. 15).

From the data it is evident that African American female faculty continue to struggle to gain access and promotion in institutions of higher education. Despite the struggles, some have achieved tenure and promotion in the White-male-dominated research academy and have become professionals of high regard. However, we know little about the experiences of these women who, beyond the pressures to conform to the professional standards and values of the White dominant culture, must also manage expectations, values, and roles in relation to the African American community. On a personal level, they need to build supportive and caring relationships with families and significant others. As these women navigate their various lifeworlds, they often experience role and value conflicts resulting from pressures to conform to each world (Bell 1990).

By investigating the developmental history of African American tenured female faculty in White research universities, one can begin to understand the bicultural experiences of African American professional women as they interact with White-male-dominated cultures.

Problem Statement. Increasing diversity in American culture demands diversity among both students and faculty in higher education. Colleges and universities need to attract and retain African American faculty to "provide role models for minority students...and to increase diversity" (Kauper, 1991). The success of minority students in White academic institutions has been attributed partly to the presence of African American faculty at such institutions (Blackwell, 1983). If African American faculty are significant to the matriculation of African American students, then the continuing absence of African American women in predominantly White research universities requires immediate attention. The low representation of African American female faculty in research universities has been attributed to the tenure process and the White-male-defined academic culture which has been found to be hostile and alienating to African American women (Pattitu and Tack, 1991; Silver, 1988).

Research Questions. This study explored the professional development experiences of African American tenured female faculty and their interactions with the White institutional culture. More specifically, the following three questions guided the study:

1. How do African American women's early developmental experiences in the African American culture and in the White dominant societal culture influence their professional development?
2. How do African American tenured female faculty interpret their experiences in the White-male-dominated culture of the research academy?
3. What adaptive procedures do African American female faculty employ to manage the White academic culture?

Theoretical Perspective. African Americans face the dilemma of double consciousness as they struggle to survive in two distinct cultural worlds--one White and one Black (Hopkins, 1987; Dubois, 1903). For Black professional women, double consciousness means being aware of two distinct cultural lifeworlds--one Black and one White--each of which is shaped by two vastly different socio-historical conditions including racism and sexism. The Black lifeworld consists of the Black community with its demands and expectations of professional women. The White lifeworld is made up of the White institutional structures--the school and the workplace--within which African American women must interact and survive in order to develop professionally.

To understand the historical process of these women's interactions with the White dominant institutional culture, I drew on the bicultural life structure theory to guide this study. As Jones (1986) explains, "The bicultural perspective focuses attention on the interplay between the two cultures and its effect on the lives of racial minority workers. The dynamics inside of organizations located in the dominant cultural context often pull for minorities to suppress their racial identity" (p. 86). Bicultural life structure theory stresses the interrelationships of the individual and the environment as key determinants in the developmental processes. Wolfe, O'Connor, and Cary (1990) define life structure as "the underlying pattern or design of a person's life at any given time....It is the individual's pattern of involvement in relationships, roles, activities, and physical settings....The life structure is the bridge between one's inner workings and the demands of society and is a product of both sets of forces....It allows one to adapt to one's surroundings" (p. 958).

Within a person's life structure are the various social relationships and contexts in which she is engaged. It is her sociocultural world and her mode of participation within the world.

"Life takes place in many diverse contexts, sometimes in contexts which entail extremely different or even opposite demands, rewards, and opportunities" (Crary, Pazy, and Wolfe, 1988, p. 784). Life contexts or experiences are constantly changing and dynamically interacting with each other. Yet each context has its own social requirements, values, and behavior patterns that make demands on a person. For the African American woman, a bicultural life structure is the way she organizes her life to successfully navigate within her dual cultures. A bicultural life experience requires that an African American woman creates a dynamic, fluid life structure that shapes the patterns of her social interactions, relationships, and mobility, both within and between the two cultural contexts (Bell, 1987, p. 463). Such a structure allows her to hold on to her African American identity as she interacts with the White dominated culture.

Methodological Perspective. This study took a qualitative approach as it explored the subjective experiences of African American tenured female faculty in the White research academy. To understand the process by which African American academic women make meaning of their experiences in White academia, I drew on the interpretive interactionist perspective. This research perspective integrates, among other concepts, feminist inquiry and biography to examine and interpret the various experiences that make up everyday life. The interpretive perspective takes on a biographical, historical, and interactional approach to the study of lived experience. This process connects an individual's life and its troubles to a public historical social structure" (Denzin, 1989, p. 18). Denzin further notes that interpretive research begins and ends with the biography of the self of the researcher and that meanings can only be discovered by the observer's participation in the world.

Like interpretive interactionism, feminist research situates the researcher's subjective experience as part of the text. Feminist researchers note that "being an insider of the experience enabled them to understand what some women have to say in a way that no outsider could" (Reinharz, p. 261). My own experience as a African American female faculty at a predominantly White academic institution contributed to my understanding of the experiences of other African American women in White institutions of higher education.

Method. This interpretive study took a biographical or life history approach as each participant and I attempted the reconstruction of her bicultural lives to discover the sociostructural experiences contributing to her success in the White academy. Each woman's sociostructural experiences result from her interactions with her sociostructural lifeworlds of family, community, institution, and the wider society. In order to understand the totality of the women's experiences, I examined each life within its sociocultural contexts. Open-ended participatory interviewing was the only method of data collection.

Study Sample. The sample for this study had to meet the following criteria: African American, female, tenured faculty, teaching in predominantly White research universities. I located three participants from a Tier 1 research university in the Southwest who met the criteria. Two of the participants I contacted each recommended another colleague who met the criteria. The five study participants made up the total sample of African American tenured female faculty at that institution. They ranged in ages 45 - 51 and came from diverse disciplines to include Social Work, Anthropology, Journalism, and Engineering. Among them are associate professors, full professors, faculty administrators, and executive officer.

Analytical Techniques. To understand and interpret the experiences of African American female faculty in White research universities, I analyzed the data in three ways. First, I studied each woman's narratives to capture the uniqueness of her story and constructed a case narrative of her story. Second, I isolated each significant experience within each woman's story and appended it to a separate file. Each story was then analyzed and situated within the sociostructural context of family, community, institution, or society. Third, I conducted a thematic analysis of each of the appended stories. After I had analyzed all the interviews, I prepared a summary of themes outlining the enabling, disabling and stabilizing experiences within each context that influenced the lives of the participants. From this process I was able to identify the early developmental experiences that influenced the lives of the participants, their enhancing and disabling experiences in the White research academy, and the adaptive procedures they employ to manage the White academic culture.

Summary of Findings. An analysis of the history of participants' life experiences in their African American and White lifeworlds reveals that both worlds made significant contributions to the personal and professional development of the participants. Within the African American lifeworld, the family built the foundation for the women's professional development by providing them with a nurturing family environment within which to develop, high expectations and support to meet those expectations, and a set of legacies or significant messages to sustain them in their developmental journeys. The African American community lifeworld, through its schools, churches, community organizations, and significant community members, augmented the family's contributions to each woman's development by providing opportunities for the development of African American self-definition, knowledge, and visibility. The White societal culture, through its separate and privileged academic institutions, provided opportunities to fulfill dreams of professional careers. The study found that although the White environment was sometimes hostile and alienating, the women persevered knowing that opportunities for professional careers were greater in the White culture.

An examination of emerging life structures resulting from interactional experiences within the African American and White lifeworlds reveals three main structural themes: character structure, career structure, and bicultural life structure. Character structure is represented by the participants cultural identity and self-definition, by their spirits of determination and confidence, by their resistance to the exclusionary behavior of the dominant group, and by their refusal to be objectified as subordinate Others. In the White institutional cultures, the women had opportunities to enhance their career structure through the influence of significant mentoring relationships. Through these relationships, their career paths led to academia where they are enjoying successful careers as university professors. Because of participants' desire for professional careers anchored in the White cultural institutions, they were forced to develop a bicultural life structure which enabled them to manage the African American culture and the White societal culture. Although the women's initial experiences with biculturalism occurred at different stages in their development, they all had to develop strategies to meet the cultural expectations of both worlds.

As the women made their journeys to success in the academy, they encountered both enhancing opportunities and disabling forces along the way. The study found that among the enabling forces were support from the executive level of the university, tenure support from the academic department, opportunities to contribute to university affairs, and opportunities for increased visibility within the institutional, national, and sometimes international academic communities. The academic lifestyle was found to be a positive influence in the participants' decision to remain in the academy.

The disabling opportunities were both structural and personal and included multiple role expectations, alienation from the White institutional community and the African American community, lack of support from colleagues, lack of desirable male companionship, institutional racism, and inadequate resources for professional development in the case of the associate professors. Family issues created personal challenges for most of the study participants. Developing strategies for minimizing the psychological effects of the disabling experiences was found to be a constant challenge throughout their professional development history.

The women are their professional development journeys mainly through the powers of self-definition, knowledge, voice, visibility, and a fluid life structure. These five dimensions work together to form a model of African American women's professional development in the White academy. The women's power of self-definition allows them to create positive images of themselves and reject the dominant society's stereotypical images that characterize them as subordinate Others. Their knowledge of the culture and its expectations was found to be significant to their development of role competence within the culture. They knew the rules of the game and chose to play by those rules. Jean, for example, noted, "I have always said, even before I went up for tenure, I know the rules of that game that I have chosen to enter. Like them or not, those are the rules. If I want to succeed in this system, then I have to abide by the rules. This is the way the system is, rightly or wrongly."

Being visible within the academic community increases opportunities for career development and advancement. The participants were recruited to their present institutions as a result of their visibility in national organizations, for having a national reputation, or as a result of their visibility through mentoring relationships during their doctoral program. Kendra noted that one's visibility within her academic community becomes crucial during review time. She said, "You need to be visible in the community that you say you are an expert in. You need to be visible at your national conferences and in your publications."

Having a fluid life structure makes it possible for the participants to float in and out of various cultural lifeworlds and to manage the discontinuities of life's experiences. By maintaining a fluid life structure, the participants were able to navigate their bicultural worlds with little of the strain and stress associated with biculturalism. They saw their bicultural lives as interconnected rather than separated. When I asked Elizabeth about the dualness of her life, she said, "I'm not sure, I feel it is all my life." Kendra also noted, "No, I don't have a dual life. This is all my life. What I am finding is that we may have some cultural uniqueness, but what has brought us together is our work. My professional and personal life is just a continuum." Jean, on the other hand, agreed that she had a Black life and a White life, but she did not see any distinct separation between the two. She said, "I guess there was a Black life and a White life. I mean work was White and everything else was Black, meaning social contacts and all that." Sara's comments also indicate her inability to distinctly separate her world into a Black world bounded off from a White world. She noted, "When I go home, it is really totally apart from the university world....What I am in my private life at home, I am still connected to the university in a sense that I am writing and doing things related to my work. I am just not connected on a social basis." She sees her world as separated and intertwined at the same time.

The findings from this study refutes Park's (1928, 1950) theory of marginality which implies a psychologically-damaged minority subordinate group who is dominated by a majority superordinate group. Participants' perceptions of their marginality do not fit the current definition of the theory. One participant used the term "creative marginality" to redefine the theory to capture her privileged status as a culturally-competent member of many dynamic cultural groups. As a result of these women's strong cultural identity and fluid life structure, they are able to minimize the stress Bell (1987) found associated with bicultural interactions.

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THE PROFESSIONAL ETHIC AND THE SPIRIT OF POST-MODERNISM:: RESEARCHING VALUES IN TEACHING AND RESEARCH IN THE EDUCATION OF ADULTS

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Abstract: This paper reports on a research project being undertaken in Britain to find out whether those involved in university teaching and research in the education of adults need a code of ethics, and how the research question has been transformed into 'why is this question being asked at this time?' The answer, it is suggested, has something to do with the post-modern condition.

Researching Values It has been said that a study which purports to be post-modern is *not* (Wyschogrod, 1990; p. 128). So it is just as well that this paper *is not* a study in post-modernism. The paper does not seek to enter into those apparently endless but paradoxically terminal debates about whether post-modernism actually is, and if so what it is, when it is (or was, or will be). Rather, it is a paper that addresses a biographical 'problem', and seeks - reflecting the modern - a solution, an answer, a perspective, a framework for understanding, or meaning. The problem is self-inflicted. In June 1993, whilst preparing a manifesto for the election for the post of Honorary Secretary of the Standing Conference on University and Research in the Education of Adults (SCUTREA), I considered the question, should the organisation have a code of ethics to assist its membership in carrying out their roles and responsibilities with respect to teaching and research in the education of adults? As a consequence, a proposal was made which led to the setting up an Ethics Writing Group, which would explore the issue on behalf of the association. At the time this seemed a perfectly natural question, and reflected topical concerns. I had been engaged in researching values and ethics for at least two years prior to this, in which I was able to draw on my experience of engaging in century old debates about ethics in social science research, whilst doing postgraduate work. As a debate within adult education, the issue of ethics is by no means new, especially in North America (Brockett, ed. 1988; Sork, 1988).

With two colleagues, we agreed to survey the membership of SCUTREA to ascertain (a) whether there was an awareness or concern over the issue of ethics; (b) whether they belonged to a professional organisation (including their own university or institution or department) which provided them with ethical guidelines, value statements, or a code of practice; (c) whether they looked to SCUTREA to provide some direction or guidance; and (d) whether there was a shared value base among its membership. Because part of the membership is institutional, representing from one to potentially hundreds of individuals, it would be difficult to know what kind of response rate there was to the survey. In actual numbers, some 25 responses were received. Inevitably, a high proportion of the replies expressed an interest or concern in values and ethics as they impinged on their practice either as teachers or researchers (presumably the non-replies are indicative of a lack of interest or concern). From those that replied, we could determine that very few of them belonged to another professional association that they felt provided them with a values framework or ethical guidelines. There was little evidence of either departments or institutions having their own code of ethics, although there was some indication that this was being discussed in a few universities.

On reflection, none of us were very happy about our methodology for researching values. We tried to make the survey interactive; it was a two-sided sheet but we did not determine which side should be completed first. It sought to elicit statements that could be used as value statements. Although innovative, the questionnaire format was not very satisfactory - a number of those completing the form did so to demonstrate its ineffectiveness as a research tool. However, we were not deterred, partly because we anticipated that in designing the questionnaire, and partly because we knew it was a means to an end, and not an end in itself. The next stage was for the research team to generate from the results a series of values statements, that covered both teaching and research. The point of generating these values statements was to use them with the membership of SCUTREA to ascertain the degree of consensus or disagreement. This was done by utilising a plenary session at the 1994 SCUTREA Conference.

Following the Conference, the results were pooled, analysed by the research team, and the method and outcomes were written up for dissemination via the SCUTREA newsletter (Armstrong, 1994b). Although there was some degree of consensus on a few of the statements, the activity served to reinforce the idea of the diversity of values among those who participated in the conference, who themselves had come from a range of cultures, different age groups, were in different positions with respect to teaching and research. The most significant outcome was to remind us of the limits of the methodology. 'It depends' was a frequent response, suggesting that the only way this activity made sense was if the statements were situated into a context, whether real or hypothetical. The idea of an agreed set of principles appeared to be a remote possibility; indeed, some voices actively spoke against the idea.

I assumed the negativity was due to the idea of a *code* of ethics or practice, and the perception of the function of a professional code. However, whilst this is certainly an element of the account, I would argue that a significant contributing factor is the spirit of post-modernism.

The Professional Ethic In reviewing the literature on professional associations and codes of ethics (Armstrong, 1994a), the assumption was that it is the role of the professional association to promote its own value base. However, a number of critical questions emerged:

> Do codes of ethics, even in the so-called 'caring professions' protect public or professional interests?
> Are codes of ethics influential on values and/or practices of those in membership?
> Is the organisation I am interested in a professional association?
> How can individuals be in membership of more than one professional association, each with its own code of practice?

Protecting the profession. Briefly, in addressing the first question I was drawn to look at Peter Jarvis's work on *Professional Education*, in which he asks: 'Loyalty to colleagues and to the profession may appear to be self-evidently 'good' on the surface, but is it not always so' (Jarvis, 1983; p.125). The failure of professional associations to come to terms with this led to the emergence in Britain at the end of 1993 of a charity, *Public Concern at Work*, whose members are encouraged to 'blow the whistle' on malpractice at work. Now the idea of 'whistle-blowing' raises a contradiction for the identity and purpose of professional associations. In the past, a key feature of professional associations has been the way that public practices have been concealed where they would be an embarrassment to the profession. An element of professionalism has been undying loyalty to colleagues in the profession, even where malpractice has been suspected.

Decoding ethics. Substantial analysis has been undertaken on a range of codes of ethics. For example, according to Kitson (1993), most codes of ethics are developed from a defensive position by senior managers, with 'a prudential tone with some basis in utilitarian theory'. But scant attention has been paid to the influence of expressed values on practice. Such research would no doubt provide insights into how codes are agreed. More detailed research still remains to be done, particularly in the sphere of the reflective practitioner, which has been a prevalent interest in adult education for over a decade.

What is a professional association? The third question addresses the definitions of professionalism and the nature of professional associations. After extensive research and analysis, one of the features identified is that members share a common set of values. Such tautological and functionalist arguments are of little value; it is more important to provide a local narrative, which would include a description of SCUTREA, its purpose and organisation, its membership, the wider academic community.

Multiple membership. One particular feature of SCUTREA is that it is rarely the sole reference group for those in membership. There is little sense of belonging. Furthermore, members are usually involved in a range of other professional associations, from trades unions to subject organisations, which may well have their own professional code of conduct. Thus, there are a significant number who are in multiple membership, subject to more than one code of ethics. At the other end, there are those who have none. It appears that the consequences may be similar for both - a lack of identify, purpose or guidance.

The Spirit of Post-Modernism

The previous analysis suggest that some adult educators may be looking to an organisation such as SCUTREA for direction and support in their teaching and research, which as a professional association should provide a value base for their work. Others argue against this because if it were to promote a value base this may well not coincide with their own values as individuals. The rejection of the need for a professional code of ethics contains an implicit critique of the notion of professions and professionalism. However, the times they are a-changing. Marxism has supposedly failed in both practice and theory, like all grand narratives. We have entered 'New Times' where the paradoxes and contradictions embedded in the ideological framework, far from being the source of progressive development, have led to rejection and disillusionment on the basis of the supposed failure of scientific understanding and rationality. The search for overarching explanatory theories is now over; the language and discourse of the Left as been appropriated by the New Right who have had the power to simplify complexity and replace contradictions with an image of coherence. The celebration of diversity and difference leads us to cultural relativism. There is no truth; there are no universal values - the only value of diversity is in diversity itself. Of course, my reading of the situation is only as good as yours or anybody else's for that matter. Usher and Edwards (1994) take up the issue of ethics of post-modernism. They recognise that the ethical 'I ought' has been replaced by the subjective 'I want'. Individualism and diversity are celebrated; desire and irrationality are given

In other words, ethics and values do not disappear, but they are individualised, diverse and ultimately relative; there is a polytheism of values. But hold on. Does this mean that post-modernism can tell us nothing about values or ethics? Surely, the relativity of values cannot be the only narrative under this condition? Whilst there may be no fundamental criteria of truth which transcends local narratives, surely this does not rule out normative human co-existence, nor the construction of unwarranted assertions about the evils of oppression and exploitation. According to Wyschogrod, the post-modern ethic is itself a contradiction:

> If post-modernism is a critical expression describing the subversion of philosophical language ... then how can one hope for an ethics when conditions for meaning are themselves under attack? But is this not a paradox - the paradox of a post-modern ethic - just what is required if an ethic is to be post-modern? Does not the term post-modern so qualify the term ethics that the idea of ethics, the stipulation of what is to count as lawful conduct is subverted? And is a post-modern ethics then not an ethics of the subversion of ethics so that ethics turns into its opposite, a nihilism that is unconstrained by rules? (Wyschogrod, 1990; p. xvii)

We can experience here the complexity of the relationship between ethics and the post-modern condition. To be sure, it does require us to radically re-think the 'syntactic and semiotic possibilities of each. A post-modern ethic will not look to some opposite of ethics, but elsewhere, to life narratives, specifically those of saints. We cannot, of course, look to traditional philosophical to help us look at ethics, which is in the investigation of the nomos of conduct, a sphere of transaction between self and others, between meanings and identities. We move from the realities of moral philosophy and from practical action determined by the professional ethic to focus on the void that has been left'.

This is not the place to discuss the relationship between modernity and post-modernity (Westwood, 1991 ; Allman and Wallis; 1995a; 1995b), or whether one precedes the other or both part of the same condition (Turner, 1990; Giroux, 1992), or whether there is such a thing as a post-modern society (Jansen and van der Veen, 1992). This is itself complex and contradictory. What is important, however, is to ensure that if we are not to allow moral and cultural relativism to remain unchallenged, we continue - as researchers - to use our critical intelligence, and as teachers, our critical pedagogy that led us into the void in the first place, to lead us through it. Giroux reminds us that critical pedagogy rejects the discourse of value neutrality, that we do have an ethical stance that contests racism, sexism and other exploitative relationships. The values behind this radical ethical stance are not derived from individuals, or relativistic moral outrage. These are social values and beliefs, developed and valued within human relations, emerging from the dialectic between human beings and their history. Beyond moral indignation and concerns about individual autonomy (which itself may be relative), and the possibilities of democracy and citizenship, we need to continue to provide critical accounts of how individual are constrained as human agents with different moral and ethical discourses and experiences. We are told that

> Post-modern discourse presents questions about how social relations should be organised and lived, about social possibilities of our age, and about social visions it is desirable to underwrite in the post-modern epoch. (cited in Westwood, 1991; p. 52)

Now, this does not require the deconstruction of our histories, our pasts, but a recognition of what Allan Quigley (1995) told us at last year's AERC, that ethical and identity issues of today are a legacy of our past. The present is reflected in the past, and the past is in the present. So, in accordance with the spirit of post-modernism, let us - playfully - look forward by looking back, as required in the helix of social change.

This paper is about to end with the beginning. Consider the feeling that you have heard 'nothing new'. This is usually frustrating for the academic researcher who has been socialised into a culture that values pushing back the boundaries or borders of knowledge. As cultural workers, Giroux exhorts us to cross these borders. We can then expose them to view:

> Boundaries .. provide the grounds for bringing in certain order to the apparently chaotic, unpredictable and changing activities in which adult learners engage. They provide a basis for deciding what is to be included and what is to be excluded. In this way, boundaries are powerful in deciding what constitutes a field of practice and a field of study in what could otherwise be considered an expansive moorland of adult learning. Who has the power to set boundaries and what boundaries are set have powerful effects on the opportunities available for adults to learn.
> (Edwards, Hanson and Raggatt, 1996; p.1)

So, where do we begin? Hearing nothing new is an invitation to look at our past biographies afresh. My early academic training exposed me to the ideas of Emile Durkheim, whose ideas I have allowed to fall by the wayside. The fear of pluralism and eclecticism have led me to neglect an important concept in Durkheim's work - *anomie*, which he uses to describe a response to social change in the normative sphere, where both formal and informal rules or norms - the cement of society - the basis of moral precepts, societal values, collective ideas and representations of culture are all challenged. Durkheim's task was to analyse the relationship between individuals and their society. Is that not once again our task? It is time to go back to re-read Durkheim's work; for example, *Professional Ethics and Civic Moral*, in which he continues to develop his ideas proposed in the Division of Labour. He is not defending order against change, as I believed, but was seeking to provide a means of understanding what had to be done to achieve change and to escape from a pathological condition - (post) modernism. It was a time of competition and conflict; egoism and unrestricted appetites and ambition reigned in place of co-operation, and because the process of change was unregulated, human suffering was characterised as anomic.

Paradoxically, the spirit of post-modernism has brought back into sight the writings of the grand narrators, whose very purpose it has been challenged; Georg Simmel, for example, and Marx and Gramsci (Allman and Wallis, 1995a). And we should not forget Max Weber whom I have parodied in the title of the paper. Whether considering values in research or - as here- researching values, it is the time to revisit objectivity and value neutrality in his writings in their historical and biographical context (B Turner, ed., 1990).

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TRANSFORMING THE TEACHER-STUDENT RELATIONSHIP: COLLABORATIVE LEARNING IN ADULT EDUCATION

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ABSTRACT. Questions explored in this study are: Do deliberately structured collaborative relationships between teachers and adult students result in learning for both teachers and students? If yes, what learning outcomes can be expected? What are the principles of collaborative relationships that result in this learning? The research setting was a nonformal adult education program directed by the researcher at a University in New York State. In the program, university employees (the "students") are linked in collaborative relationships with undergraduate students (the "teachers") for the purpose of improving the employees' literacy skills. The methodology is based on the assumption that knowledge is socially constructed. Data collection was triangulated, using document analysis, focus groups, and interviews. Findings were that both teachers and adult students learned through the collaborative relationships. Outcomes for adult students included increased knowledge, skills, self-confidence, and pride. For teachers, learning outcomes included a greater appreciation for diversity, a greater understanding of self and others, and a deeper understanding of the dimensions of power. Seven principles and three corollaries were elicited from the data. These principles identify conditions for positive collaborative relationships between teachers and adult students.

The major questions of this study are: **Do deliberately structured collaborative relationships between teachers and adult students result in learning for both teachers and students? If yes, what learning outcomes can be expected? What are the principles of collaborative relationships that result in this learning?**

Edwin Mason coined the term **collaborative learning** in 1971 (Mason, 1971). In this study, **collaborative learning** refers to a relationship between a teacher and a student that is structured so that both are learners and both are facilitators of the other's learning. This study examined relationships between "teachers" and "students" that were deliberately structured for collaborative learning through a post secondary course offered in the Department of Human Service Studies, College of Human Ecology, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York. Titled "Skills for Learning in the Field," the curriculum design is a combination of weekly class meetings and real life experience in facilitating the learning of another adult. Students are matched on a one-to-one basis with a Cornell custodian or kitchen worker. For a minimum of a three month period, partners meet on campus during employee work time for up to three hours a week. The objectives of the partnership are to enable the student to reach the course objectives and individually determined learning objectives and for the employee to attain self-determined goals relating to improved reading, writing, and computation skills. For the sake of clarity, the students were referred to as **academic learning partners** and the employees were referred to as **life experience partners** throughout this research.

Relevant Literature. Both the philosophy of humanism and the theories of radical adult educators form the philosophical basis for the concept of collaborative relationships between the teacher and the learner. Relevant humanist theories include Brookfield's formulation of student-centered learning (1987, 1991), Roger's client-centered therapy (1951), and Josselson's eight essential relationship needs (1992). Noddings (1984) and Belenky et al. (1986) are examples of feminists writing from a humanistic perspective.

Radical adult education, in contrast to the person-centered theories of humanists, proposes that the purpose of education is to bring about radical social, political, and economic change. Educators working in this area include Paulo Freire (1970, 1973, 1985, 1989), Kreisberg (1992) and Jack Mezirow (1990, 1991). Contemporary feminist adult educators with radical views of adult education include Hart (1990), Weiler (1988), Collins (1991) and bell hooks (1989).

Data Collection and Analysis. Guba and Lincoln's description of a "hermeneutic dialectic" (1989, 41) describes the process followed in this research. The knowledge claim from this approach is that the meaning of the phenomenon under study can be understood through a shared process of meaning-making by those persons involved or affected by the phenomenon, including the researcher. Data gathering was triangulated, using document analysis, focus groups, and interviews. The qualitative analytic procedure of grounded theory, as described by Strauss and Corbin (1990), was a major method of data analysis in this research.

Findings. ***(Fig. 1)*** depicts axial coding of the study data through the paradigm model of Strauss and Corbin (1990). All information within the model was verified by at least one group of participants in the study.

Did Both Partners Learn Through Involvement in the Collaborative Relationship? It is clear from viewing the paradigm model that both academic partners learned through involvement in collaborative relationships. It is also clear that what was learned differed between academic learning partners and life experience partners.

What Did Partners Perceive That They Learned Through Involvement in These Collaborative Relationships? The paradigm model describes learning outcomes for both partners. For many academic learning partners, life experience partners were **life experience mentors**. As **life experience mentors**, the life experience partners taught academic learning partners about the Cornell that they (the life experience partners) knew. Contact with the life experience partner resulted in some academic learning partners encountering their own stereotypes about poor working people. Many of the academic learning partners, when they entered the relationship, were ethnocentric, having little if any awareness that the life experience partners they saw daily, although sharing the same physical space, were having different experiences at Cornell. The close, collaborative relationship with life experience partners resulted in a break in the ethnocentrism. Metaphorically, there was a **crack in the lens** through which they viewed the world. Academic learning partners consistently spoke of the support and understanding that they received from life experience partners and how greatly they valued that support. Unlike the relationship with professors, the relationship with life experience partners was not seen as hierarchial by most academic learning partners.

Fig. 1

Phenomenon: Collaborative Relationships
specific dimension of:
intensity: 1-3 hours weekly
duration: three months to 3 years
location: Cornell University campus, Ithaca, New York

Casual conditions: properties of a positive relationship for:

life experience partners		academic learning partners	
1.	Patience, compassion, and respect from the partner	1.	Complementarily in respect, trust, concern, caring and learning
2.	Support	2.	Friendship
3.	Friendship, strong bond	3.	Gains for self socially, emotionally, intellectually
4.	Control over what is learned.	4.	Sufficient frequency and duration of meetings
5.	Partner like a family member	5.	Sometimes commonalities with partner
6.	Sufficient frequency and duration of meetings		
7.	Able to contribute support, advice to partner		

Casual conditions: properties of a negative relationship for:

life experience partners		academic learning partners	
1.	Insufficient frequency and duration meetings	1.	When partner cancels meetings
2.	When partner cancels meetings	2.	When partner gets too intimate
3.	Having to work around partner's schedule	3.	When unprepared to handle stories of partner's life experiences
4.	Partner's inability to empathize	4.	Wanting more control over learning activities
5.	Partner uninterested or inattentive	5.	Discomfort with mix of work and socialization

Context and Intervening Conditions

Formal postsecondary education setting; Academic learning partners from freshmen to seniors, male and female, unmarried, U.S. citizens, predominantly caucasian, average age of 21; enrolled in a credit bearing course; life experience partner allowed to participate on work time; participation is voluntary and confidential; primarily in custodial or food service jobs, male and female, predominantly caucasian, married and single, with and without children, from no schooling to 12+ years of school, U.S. citizens and Asian refugees or immigrants, average age of 42

Strategies

Matching of one-to-one pairs of academic learning partners and life experience partners.

Consequences

1.	New knowledge and skills such as reading, writing, math, spelling, and computer	1.	Skills such as ability to establish a relationship with an adult, to set realistic expectations of self and others
2.	Passed the GED	2.	New attitudes such as willingness to accept help, compassion, determination, patience, self-confidence
3.	Increased respect and positive feelings for Cornell students	3.	New knowledge about self such as recognizing biases and stereotypes, changed self-perception, seeing self as an adult, recognizing how much education is taken for granted, new perspectives on own culture, recognition of one's privileged position
4.	Increased self-confidence	4.	Knowledge of diversity: people, countries and cultures; motives and context of parents struggles and hardships people endure, more about racism and gender biases, more about empowerment
5.	Broke down negative stereotypes of Cornell students	5.	Learned about the "other world" of Cornell
6.	Felt respected, cared for, valued by partners	6.	Increased tolerance and appreciation of difference
7.	Overcame feelings of status inferiority between life experience partners and academic learning partners		
8..	Felt pride in self because of learning accomplished		

Barriers to Positive Collaborative Relationships. A negative, for both partners, was for the partner to cancel meetings without notification. Being able to count on the partner to meet expectations was important to the development of trust. A major problem for some academic learning partners was the difficulty in dealing with the stories of disappointments and tragedies that life experience partners told. When the academic learning partner could empathize with the partner, the relationship deepened. However, a number of academic learning partners were overwhelmed with the information given by their partners.

Principles for Positive Collaborative Relationships. These positive and negative conditions were used to generate seven principles of positive collaborative relationships:

Principle 1: The successful movement toward learning outcomes described in this study depends primarily upon the type of relationship developed between the teacher and adult student.

Principle 2: There needs to be reciprocal respect, caring, support and empathy between teacher and adult student.

Principle 3: The teacher and adult student must experience a reciprocal relationship in which there is interdependence.

Principle 4: Power between the teacher and the adult student needs to be exercised as power with rather than power over.

Principle 5: The adult student must have the opportunity to share leadership in the relationship, and especially must be able to control what is to be learned.

Principle 6: The teacher must feel that the adult student is making progress toward learning goals. However, a positive relationship can exist even though learning goals are not reached.

Principle 7: Teachers need to be prepared to deal with difficult life stories told by adult students and need to be supported as they encounter the students' realities.

The principles just described were critical to the successful development of collaborative relationships in the adult education program that was the site of this research. The learning outcomes described earlier occurred, in large part, because of the development of such relationships. Thus, in the adult education program studied, these principles were necessary conditions for the development of positive collaborative relationships, and positive collaborative relationships were the vehicles for the learning that occurred. In comparing these principles elicited from this research with principles of collaborative relationships found in the writings of radical educators and feminists, there is strong consistency. In addition, findings of this study suggest some principles that were not found in the literature such as the importance of trust. A second important finding was that the core of the collaborative relationship was being able to take the perspective of the other, and this was possible only when the partners were free to talk about their lives and when they were heard by the other.

Relevance of This Study to the Field of Adult Education. This research is a report on a naturalistic education experiment that demonstrates what both teachers and students in collaborative relationships were able to gain from their work together in an adult literacy program. As a case study of collaborative learning, this research suggests, to adult education practitioners, a model for development of adult literacy programs, especially programs that are located on college and university campuses. Also, in the growing field of workplace literacy, this case study provides successful ways to involve employees in development of new skills.

This study also has relevance for adult education situations in which the relationship between teacher and student is other than collaborative. It is instructive to compare the principles for positive collaborative relations generated from this research with the six central principles of effective practice in adult learning that Brookfield identified (1991, 9-20). The principles of collaborative relationships derived from this study are consistent with Brookfield's six principles of effective practice in adult education with one exception-and an important one: the issue of how we learn. My research suggests a rethinking of Brookfield's widely accepted principles of effective practice in adult learning. Brookfield's work is based on positivist assumptions, especially about the way in which we come to know. This is evidenced by his focus on self-directed learning which implies that knowledge is individually rather than socially constructed. This research on collaborative relationships suggests that the most effective educational relationship is when the learner and teacher/facilitator are interdependent.

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Decentering the "Self" in Adult Education Practice

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Abstract: Allusions to the "decentred subject" can be found in a growing number of educational texts. Yet many of these texts say little about the term's meaning or genesis. What exactly is the "decentred subject"? what distinguishes this postmodern subject of language from the modern subject of consciousness it seeks to displace? what are the implications of the decentred subject for modern pedagogies based on the transference of knowledge? This paper draws upon the work of Lacan and a number of his commentators to elucidate the distinctive features of the decentred subject, highlight its distinguishing factors, and investigate its revolutionary implications for the field of adult education.

Self-awareness, self-growth and development, self-actualisation and self-direction: these words circulate endlessly through adult education conference circuits and literature leaving us with a nice glow but with little sense of what they mean. Post-Freudian psychology forgets the Freud who "cast doubt on the autonomous subject"... and turns our attention away from the disintegration of subjectivity in a massified society. (Welton, 1987, p. 52)

Three Impossible Professions: According to Freud, there are three "impossible" professions, three spheres of endeavour that guarantee unsatisfying results, even before engaging in them: educating, healing, and governing. This did not, however, deter Freud from devoting the greater part of his life to healing and educating. Jacques Lacan, if not Freud's most notable, then certainly his most controversial disciple, has argued that Freud, despite such misgivings, believed he could make a positive contribution to the professions of healing and educating because of a discovery whose full impact is yet to be felt. This discovery, according to Lacan, was that of the unconscious and its corollary the "decentred subject," a find whose implications are no less revolutionary for humanity than those stemming from that of Copernicus's: "it was in fact the so-called Copernican revolution to which Freud himself compared his discovery, emphasizing, that it was once again a question of the place man assigns to himself at the centre of a universe" (Lacan, 1977, p. 165).

Allusions to the decentred subject can be found in a growing number of education texts, especially those focusing on the problematic of identity formation—Britzman's (1991) *Practice Makes Practice*, for instance. Yet while such texts employ the notion of the decentred subject to challenge the assumptions of pedagogies based on the unproblematic transmission of knowledge from teacher to student, few expand on the origins or nature of the notion itself. What exactly is the "decentred subject"? what distinguishes this postmodern subject of language from the modern subject of consciousness it seeks to displace? what are the implications of the decentred subject for modern pedagogies based on the transference of knowledge? This paper traces the emergence of the "decentred subject" through its formulation in Lacanian psychoanalytic theory to its origins in the Freudian corpus, drawing upon the work of Lacan and a number of his commentators to elucidate its distinctive features, highlight its distinguishing factors, and investigate its revolutionary implications for the field of education.

Reading Lacan: Lacan, who in fact aspired to be a Freudian, rather than a Lacanian, basing much of his own work on a return to Freud, presents his work as a rebus or puzzle, not unlike a dream that demands deciphering before its inner kernel of meaning is revealed. Writing, for Lacan, is "a factor that makes possible the kind of tightening up that I like in order to leave the reader no other way out than the way in, which I prefer to be difficult" (Lacan, 1977, p. 146). It is, Muller and Richardson (1982, p. 3) suggest, as if Lacan

> not only explicates the unconscious but strives to imitate it. Whatever is to be said about the native cast of Lacan's mind that finds this sort of thing congenial, there is not doubt that the elusive-allusive-illusive manner, the encrustation with rhetorical tropes, the kaleidoscopic erudition, the deliberate ambiguity, the auditory echoes, the oblique irony, the disdain of logical sequence, the prankish playfulness and sardonic (sometimes scathing) humor—all of these forms of preciousness that Lacan

affects are essentially a concrete demonstration in verbal locution of the perverse ways of the unconscious as he experiences it.

While it is now a commonplace that Lacan's reading of Freud is coloured by the understanding of Hegel he developed as a consequence of attending Alexandre Kojève's seminal Sorbonne lectures of the 1930s—lectures attended by the likes of "Sartre, Merleau-Ponty, Lacan, Bataille, Queneau, and a host of existentialists, Catholics, Communists, and surrealists who eagerly awaited the event of Hegel's epiphany" (Pefanis, 1991, p. 11)—it is sometimes forgotten that "Kojève's understanding of Hegel was indebted to Heidegger" (Pefanis, 1991, p. 3). It should come as no great surprise, then, that when Lacan, the *enfant terrible* of psychoanalysis, sets out to unearth the origins of the decentred subject, he does so through the work of Martin Heidegger, tracing the emergence of this distinctively modern subject—the self-conscious, autonomous monad that exists prior to and independent of the objects of experience—to 17th Century France, to the place where "Descartes found his 'unshakable foundation of truth' in the subject's awareness of himself in the very process of his own thinking/doubt" (Muller & Richardson, 1982, 167).

A Genealogy of the Subject: Lovitt (1977, p. xxv) informs us that for Heidegger, "the work of Descartes, itself an expression of the shift in men's outlook that had already taken place, set forth that basis in philosophical terms." According to Heidegger, it was "in the *ego cogito* (*ergo*) *sum* of Descartes" that "man found his self-certainty *within himself*," where "man's thinking... was found to contain within itself the needed sureness." From this point on, "man could *represent* reality to himself," he could "set it up over against himself, as it *appeared* to him, as an *object* of thought. This meant that "he felt assured at once of his own existence and of the existence of the reality thus conceived." It is the epistemology of Descartes, Heidegger (1977, pp. 126-127) argues, that makes the modern conception science—"science as research"—possible. This new mode of knowledge, "knowing, as research, calls whatever is to account with regard to the way in which and the extent to which it lets itself be put at the disposal of representation." This distinctively modern way of knowing "has disposal over anything that is when it can either calculate it in its future course in advance or verify a calculation about its past." Consequently, "nature and history become the objects of a representing that explains..., [but] only that which becomes object in this way *is*—is considered to be in being." It is with the advent of modernity, then, that "man, once concerned to discover and decisively to behold the truly real, now finds himself certain of himself; and he takes himself, in that self-certainty, to be more and more the determining center of reality" (Lovitt, 1977, p. xxvi).

It is Descartes, however, who is "the originator of the modern notion that certainty is the child of reflexive clarity, or the examination of our own ideas in abstraction from what they 'represent' " (Taylor, 1987, p. 469). With Descartes, the traditional notion of subject—"that-which-lies-before (for the Greeks, that which looms up, e.g., an island or mountain)..., the reality that confronted man in the power of its presence" (Lovitt, 1977, p. xxvi)—was radically transformed. Descartes, Lovitt (p. xxvi) notes, "fixed his attention not on a reality beyond himself, but precisely on that which was present *as* and *within* his own consciousness." In this act lies the origin of the modern subject, for "at this point self-consciousness became subject *par excellence*, and everything that had the character of subject—of-that-which-lies-before—came to find the locus and manner of its being precisely in that self-consciousness."

It was, then, in his own process of thinking that Descartes recognized an awareness of himself, his self-consciousness. This is act involves, "over and above the registration and perception of sensations, an *apperception*: an act of attributing perception to an underlying perceiver" (Grosz, 1990, p. 35, emphasis added). Hence Descartes' dictum: *Cogito ergo sum*; I think, therefore, I am. It was this revelation that led Descartes to declare consciousness and subjectivity *coterminous*. It is exactly this notion of the unitary, centred subject that Freud's discovery of the unconscious undermines and revealing that "the very centre of the human being was no longer to be found at the place assigned to it by a whole humanist tradition" (Lacan, 1977, p. 114). But it is Lacan who rephrases the question first posed by Freud's discovery of the unconscious, in a way that is more in keeping with theories of language and visual perception—de Saussure's linguistics, and Lorenz and Tinbergen's *Gestalten*—that postdate Freud's own work: "Is the place that I occupy as the subject of a signifier concentric or eccentric, in relation to the place I occupy as subject of the signified? (Lacan, 1977, p. 165). The implications of this statement for adult educators should become clearer as we continue.

Subject as Signifier: Lacan's answer is, of course, *eccentric* or "decentred," since he embraces Freud's conception of a subject comprised of more than one centre, arguing that "if we ignore the self's radical ex-centricity to itself with which man is confronted, in other words, the truth discovered by Freud, we shall falsify both the order and methods of psychoanalytic mediation...: the letter as well as the spirit of Freud's work" (Lacan, 1977, p. 171). Since the subject occupies different places or locations: one the centre of conscious discourse—of "signifiers"—the other of unconscious discourse governed by "signifying mechanisms" that shape the "signified" and can, therefore, be designated legitimately as thought, "the speaking subject is emphatically decentred in relation to the ego" (Boothby, 1991, p. 112). It is Lacan's contention that this bipolarity demands a reformulation of Descartes' Cogito: "I think [on an unconscious level, at the level of the "signified"] where I am not [that is, on a conscious level, at the level of the "signifier"], therefore I am where I do not think" (Lacan, 1977, p. 166). What Descartes fails to recognize, according to Lacan, is that the concept "I" must be understood as a "sign" comprised of not one but *two* elements, elements that correspond to Ferdinand de Saussure's (1983) "signifier" and "signified," to the *material* and *immaterial* elements that comprise each and every sign, to the sign's extramental and intramental objects. The "subject of the signifier," "S," is the ego or subject of consciousness—the enunciated subject—the "subject of the signified," "*s*," is the subject of the unconscious—the subject of enunciation. The crucial point is that "the S and the *s* of the Sausserian algorithm are not on the same level" (Lacan, 1977, p. 166). This bifurcation, Lacan contends, is the condition for the possibility of the subject coming into being, for its ability to "unknowingly" represent its own desire to itself. It is "in the unconscious, excluded from the system of the ego, that the subject speaks" (Lacan, in Boothby, 1991, p. 111). As Slavoj Zizek (1992, p. 68) notes: "the Lacanian notion of the imaginary [enunciated] self... exists only on the basis of the misrecognition of its own conditions; it is the *effect* of this misrecognition."

Misunderstandings of Lacan's position are far from uncommon, yet for many readily explicable. A failure to grasp his distinction between the two subject positions—between "the enunciated subject" and "the subject of enunciation"—is most often the source of confusion. What needs to be carefully noted is that the unconscious subject is the locus of thought—the subject of enunciation—and the conscious subject is the locus of language—the enunciated subject; consequently, an irremediable gap between what is *meant* and what is *said* cannot be avoided: "Lacan's point is simply that these two levels never fully cohere: the gap separating them is constitutive; the subject, by definition, cannot master the effects of his speech" (Zizek, 1994, p. 13). Consequently, "the implications of meaning infinitely exceed the signs manipulated by the individual. As far as signs are concerned, man is always mobilizing many more of them than he knows" (Lacan, in Felman, 1987, pp. 95-96). The subject of enunciation—the unconscious subject—is a site of unmeant knowledge that escapes intentionality and meaning, appearing to the enunciated subject—the conscious subject—only in the form of verbal slips and dream images—it is a *speaking* knowledge that is denied to the *speaker's* knowledge. As Boothby (1991, p. 126) notes: "the tendency of discourse to evoke a multitude of meanings—what might be called the essential 'extravagance' of speech—establishes the capacity of language to accommodate unconscious intentionality even in the most apparently mundane and innocent banter"; thus, we witness "in the "multiple reverberations of meaning generated within the symbolic system as a whole by the signifying chain... what Lacan calls the 'decentring of the subject'." The unconscious, then, can be characterized as "knowledge that can't tolerate one's knowing that one knows," and it is psychoanalysis that "appears on the scene to announce that there is knowledge that does not know itself, knowledge that is supported by the signifier as such" (Lacan, in Felman, 1987,

p. 77). Consequently, *the very condition for the possibility* of conscious knowledge is the *active* repression of some other knowledge on an unconscious level. Ignorance, therefore, is not the *absence* of knowledge but the *negative* condition for the possibility of any *positive* knowledge: the gap between knowing and not knowing, therefore, can never be closed.

Implications for Education: Of the few who have attempted to investigate the implications of the decentred subject for pedagogy, Felman (1987) offers the most perspicuous account. She notes, that not unlike Plato, perhaps the most eminent pedagogue in the Western tradition, Freud is convinced that teaching is impossible. She asks us to consider, however, whether this claim does not constitute a lesson in itself, noting that while Freud did not formulate psychoanalysis explicitly as a pedagogical practice, his most controversial disciple, Jacques Lacan, viewed psychoanalysis very much through a pedagogical lens. Unfortunately, Lacan's pedagogical project is often misrepresented or misconstrued due to a misunderstanding regarding psychoanalysis's critical position. Lacan's critique of pedagogies based on the simple transmission of knowledge is often simply rejected as an *anti*pedagogical stance—as a desire to forget pedagogy, to give it up as an inconsequential practice that seeks only to undo what has been established through education. But as Felman (1987, p. 72) notes, this reductive conception of Lacan's pedagogical stance as simply anti-pedagogical "fails to see that there is no such thing as an anti-pedagogue: an anti-pedagogue is the pedagogue par excellence." In fact, both Lacan and Freud viewed pedagogy—in their case the education of analysts—to be of the utmost importance.

Misconceptions of Lacan's pedagogical stance tend to result from a failure to read his explicit statements about pedagogy as "utterances"—as *action* statements that seek not only to describe something but also to bring something about. In focusing on the "locutionary" and "illocutionary" dimensions of Lacan's statements—on the meaning and apparent intent of his words—such readings overlook the "perlocutionary force" of his statements—the *effect* he wishes to invoke in the listener. Unlike the locutionary and illocutionary aspects of language, whose aims are open and can be discerned readily from statements themselves, the perlocutionary aspect is necessarily *masked*, since its meaning is a function of the speaker's desire to achieve a hidden goal or effect. If, for instance, a speaker wished to invoke fear in the listener, she could not simply say "I want to frighten you." Lacan, in fact, through his own practice, was constantly exploring how what psychoanalysis teaches could be most effectively taught, and is renowned for deliberately manipulating language to create effects that extend far beyond the manifest meaning of his statements. For Lacan, pedagogy entails much more than the mere statement of facts: "it is an utterance. It is not just a meaning: it is action; an action that itself may very well at times belie the stated meaning," a process of learning that proceeds "through breakthroughs, leaps, discontinuities, regressions, and deferred action" (Felman, 1987, pp. 74-76).

In recognizing that psychoanalysis gives access to knowledge otherwise denied to consciousness, Lacan viewed it as a way of discovering that which can be learned in no other way. While traditional pedagogy, on the one hand, is based on a vision of intellectual perfectibility—on the premise that learning is a cumulative process, on the assumption that the gap between ignorance and knowledge can be fully closed; psychoanalysis, on the other hand, reveals that "the radical heteronomy that Freud's discovery shows gaping within man can never again be covered without whatever is used to hide it being profoundly dishonest" (Lacan, 1977, p. 172). All attempts to close this gap through progressive mastery are exposed as futile, because there is knowledge that does not know itself, because meaning infinitely exceeds the signs manipulated by the individual, because the subject of speech is always mobilizing many more signs than she knows.

The Desire to Ignore: The consequence is that ignorance is no longer the antithesis of knowledge—a void to be filled: it is the radical condition for the possibility of knowledge, an integral aspect of the very structure of knowledge. "Ignorance, in other words, is not a *passive* state of absence, a simple lack of information: it is an *active dynamic of negation*, an active refusal of information".(Felman, 1987, p. 79, emphasis added). It is, therefore, a *passion for* ignorance, a *resistance to* knowledge that teaching, like analysis, needs to concern itself with. More properly understood as a *desire to ignore*, the nature of ignorance reveals itself to be more performative than cognitive. As with the ignorance of Oedipus, which Sophocles portrays as more a *refusal* of knowledge than a simple lack thereof, ignorance represents an unwillingness to acknowledge our own implication in knowledge. That this ignorance, can teach us something, that the refusal to know is itself part of knowledge, is the truly revolutionary insight of psychoanalysis; consequently, the crucial questions the pedagogue must address are:

> Where does it resist? Where does a text... precisely make no sense, that is, resist interpretation? Where does what I see and what I read resist my understanding? Where is the ignorance—the resistance to knowledge—located? And what can I learn from the locus of that ignorance? How can I interpret *out of* the dynamic ignorance I analytically encounter, both in others and in myself? How can I turn ignorance into an instrument of teaching? (Felman, 1987, p. 80)

Teaching, then, involves not the *transfer* of knowledge but the *creation of conditions* that make it possible to learn, the creation of an original learning disposition. To teach, according to Lacan, is to teach the condition that makes learning possible. But how does the teacher do this? Through the pedagogical structure of the analytic situation.

The Dynamic of Learning: In the analytic situation, the analysand/learner speaks to the analyst/teacher, whom she attributes with the authority appropriate to one who possesses such knowledge—knowledge of precisely what the analysand/learner lacks. This is the beginning of what Lacan describes as "transference." As Zizek (1992, p. 56) points out, "this knowledge is an illusion, it does not really exist in the other, the other does not really possess it, it is constituted afterwards, through our—the subject's—the signifier's working"; however, the act of transference "is at the same time a necessary illusion, because we can paradoxically elaborate this knowledge only by means of the illusion that the other already possesses it and that we are only discovering it." It is imperative, however, that the analyst/teacher recognize that she does not possess the knowledge the analysand/learner attributes to her—the teacher's knowledge, according to Lacan, resides only in textual knowledge, knowledge derived from and directed toward interpretation. But since each text has its own peculiar meaning and demands, therefore, a unique interpretation, such knowledge cannot be acquired or possessed once and for all. Analyst/teachers, according to Lacan, are "those who share this knowledge only at the price, on the condition of their not being able to exchange it" (Lacan, in Felman, 1987, p. 81). Lacan is singular in his insistence that knowledge derived from the analyst/teacher's previous engagements with other texts cannot simply be exchanged with the analysand/learner, it has to be *used*—and used differently, according to the particularity of the case—to create the conditions for the possibility of learning. There is, however, one thing the teacher/analyst must know: how to ignore what she knows, to suppress what she learned from previous engagements with other texts.

Considering each pedagogical engagement as a new beginning, The analyst/teacher, in coming to the rescue of the analysand/learner's ignorance, is pulled into ignorance herself. Unlike the analysand/learner, however, who is ignorant of simply her own knowledge, the analyst/teacher is doubly ignorant: pedagogically ignorant of her own suspended knowledge and actually ignorant of the knowledge the analysand/learner presumes her to possess. To make learning possible in this situation, the analyst/teacher must first situate, through dialogue, the ignorance—the place where her textual knowledge is being resisted. It is from this resistance, the analysand/learner's desire for ignorance, from the statements of the analysand/learner that always reveal more than she knows, that the analyst/teacher gains access to the unconscious knowledge of the analysand/learner—that knowledge which cannot tolerate its own knowing. The analyst/teacher must return the signifiers that express this areflexive, obfuscated knowledge to the analysand/learner from her own nonreflexive, asymmetrical position as the subject presumed to know, as an Other. Consequently,

> contrary to the traditional pedagogical dynamic, in which the teacher's question is addressed to an answer from the other—from the student—which is totally reflexive, and expected, "the true

> Other," says Lacan, "is the Other who gives the answer one does not expect."... Coming from the Other, knowledge is, by definition, that which comes as a surprise, that which is constitutively the return of a difference. (Felman, 1987, p. 82)

It is to the unconscious of the analysand/learner, to the subject of enunciation, that the analyst/teacher must address her question, then; not to the analysand/learner's conscious ego, the enunciated subject. Only then will she be fulfilling her role as Other. To express the truth, the analyst/teacher must first be taught by the analysand/learner's unconscious. By structurally occupying the place of the analysand/learner's unconscious knowledge, by making herself a student of that knowledge, the analyst/teacher assumes the only truly pedagogical stance, making accessible to the analysand/learner what would otherwise remain inaccessible to her.

Concluding Remarks: For Lacan, knowledge is always already there, but always in the Other. Consequently, a pedagogical stance of alterity is indispensable to the articulation of truth. Knowledge, then, is not a substance but a structural dynamic that cannot be possessed by any individual. It is the result of a mutual exchange between interlocutors that both say more than they know: "dialogue is thus the radical condition of learning and of knowledge, the analytically constitutive condition through which ignorance becomes structurally informative; knowledge is essentially, irreducibly dialogical" (Felman, 1987, p. 83). Knowledge, therefore, cannot be supported or transported by an individual. The analyst/teacher, alone, cannot be a master of the knowledge she teaches. This means the analyst/teacher must do much more than simply invite the analysand/learner to engage in exchanges or interventions, she must attempt to learn her own unconscious knowledge *from* the analysand/learner. In adopting this pedagogical stance, the analyst/teacher denies the possession of her own knowledge and dismisses all claims to total knowledge, to mastery, to being the self-sufficient, self-possessed, proprietor of knowledge.

This, then, is to reject the traditional image of the pedagogue as omniscient, an image modeled on an illusion: that of a consciousness fully transparent to itself. Based on the discovery of the unconscious, which abolishes the postulate of the subject presumed to know, Lacan contends that the position of the analyst/teacher must be that of the one who learns, of the one who teaches nothing other than the way she learns, of a subject who is interminably a student, of a teaching whose promise lies in the inexhaustibility of its self-critical potential—this is undoubtedly the most radical insight psychoanalysis offers pedagogy.

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HUMANISTIC ADULT EDUCATION: A CRITICAL APPRAISAL

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Abstract: Humanism has been influential in much successful work with adult learners. Yet, today humanism is often misunderstood and, as a result, its value and relevance are frequently challenged. This paper will examine some of the major tenets of humanistic adult education and will address some of the ways in which the approach has been misunderstood and misinterpreted.

When considering epistemological foundations of adult education, it is clear that humanism has had a major influence on current practice. Some of the most clear links between adult education and humanism have been the learner-centered approach, individual growth, human potential, andragogy, self-directed learning, and the role of the instructor as facilitator. However, with a few exceptions, there has been little effort to trace the epistemological foundations of humanism. As a result, humanism has often been misinterpreted and misunderstood. Subsequently, its value and relevance to adult education are often challenged.

Today, humanism is often criticized for several reasons. Because of its assumptions about the supernatural and immortality, humanism has been a frequent target of Christian conservatives, particularly in relation to public education. In addition, because of its emphasis on affect, humanism is often challenged by educators whose practice is strongly rooted in behaviorist assumptions. Finally, humanism is frequently challenged because of its emphasis on individual growth and human potential, here, the basis for criticism is the belief that humanism is overly self-centered at the expense for issues of social change and justice.

In this paper, it is my intent to try and clarify some of the misconceptions and misunderstandings that have led many adult educators to challenge the value and relevance of humanism in contemporary adult education. Specifically, the paper is intended to (1) trace some of the ideas from philosophy and psychology that have shaped humanistic thought; (2) explore some of the recent challenges leveled at humanism; and (3) describe some of the ways in which humanism has been misunderstood and misinterpreted.

The Nature of Humanism: Philosophical and Psychological Influences

Humanism is an optimistic perspective that celebrates the freedom, dignity, and potential of humans. It is grounded in the idea that within the constraints "imposed by heredity, personal history, and environment," people have the ability to make major personal choices (Elias & Merriam, 1994, p. 118). As a philosophy, the influence of humanism can be traced to the works of Confucius, the Greek philosophers Progagoras and Aristotle, Renaissance philosophers Erasmus and Montaigne, and Spinoza and Rousseau in the 17th and 18 centuries, respectively. Twentieth century philosophers who have made contributions to philosophy include Russel, Santayana, Schweitzer, Neibur, as well as existentialist philosophers Nietzche, Tillch, Buber, and Sartre (Elias & Merriam, 1994; Lamont, 1965).

According to Lamont (1965), humanism is "a philosophy of joyous service for the greater good of all humanity in this natural world and advocating the methods of reason, science, and democracy" (p. 12). Lamont goes on to identify ten central propositions of humanist philosophy: (1) humanism is based on a natural metaphysics that views the supernatural as myth; (2) body and mind are inseparably united, therefore there is no conscious survival after death; (3) humans have the power and potential to solve their own problems; (4) humanism stands in contrast with universal determinism, fatalism, and predestination; (5) humanism emphasizes present-life experiences and relationships; (6) the good life is achieved through a combination of personal growth and commitment to the welfare of the entire community; (7) aesthetics are greatly valued; (8) humanism "believes in a far-reaching social program that stands for the establishment throughout the world of democracy, peace, and a high standard of living" (p. 14); (9) humanism supports democratic views such as freedom of expression and civil liberties; and (10) humanism advocates the "unending questioning of basic assumptions and convictions, including its own" (p. 14).

In psychology, humanism emerged largely as a response to the dominant schools of thought during the first half of the 20th century -- psychoanalysis and behaviorism. Smith (1990) has noted that beginning in the 1930s, psychologists such as Allport, Murray, and Kelly began to present ideas that "rejected both the mechanistic premises of behaviorism and the biological reductionism of classical psychoanalysis" (p. 8). Thus, humanism rejected the determinism of psychoanalysis while advocating the importance of affect, dignity, and freedom, which were missing from behaviorism. Subsequent contributors to humanistic psychology included Buhler, May, Moreno, Lewin, Perls, and Frankl (Smith, 1980).

The two individuals who probably have had the greatest influence on humanistic psychology and, subsequently, adult education, are Abraham Maslow and Carl Rogers. Maslow's major contributions were probably his "hierarchy of needs", and his ideas about "self-actualization" and "peak experiences". Maslow's (1970) hierarchy of needs, which was intended to serve as a theory of motivation, has been coopted, popularized and oversimplified in a way that has frequently led to its uncritical acceptance in many circles. More relevant to a critical appraisal of humanism relative to adult education is the notion of peak experience. Here, Maslow was referring to highly intense periods where a person is transformed through new insights. According to Maslow (1970), people who reported having peak experiences demonstrated "feelings of limitless horizons opening up to the vision" and "the feeling of great ecstasy and wonder and awe" (p. 164). More recently, the work of Csikszentmihalyi (1990) on the notion of "flow" may be somewhat analogous to peak experience.

Rogers (1961) is probably best known for his work with "client-centered" therapy, which stresses the values of unconditional positive regard, empathic understanding, honesty, and integrity in the therapeutic relationship. A major goal of this approach is to help people become more self-directed. Self-direction "means that one chooses - and then learns from the consequences" (1961, p. 171). Rogers' thinking has important implications for education; for example, in translating the notion of self-direction into the learning process, Rogers (1983) describes a person who can envision a situation clearly and then is able to take responsibility for the situation.

Humanism in Adult Education

During the 1960s and 1970s, many in the education field began to see the potential for humanism as an approach to the teaching-learning process. Rogers (1983) and Patterson (1973), for example, adapted their work on therapy to the context of education.

In an attempt to identify basic principles of humanistic education, Shapiro (1986, 1987) surveyed two groups of writers on the topic. From this, Shapiro identified 16 principles of humanistic instruction including emphasis on process, self-determination, mutual caring, relevance, integration of affect and cognition, awareness of socio-cultural conditions, preference for affective and experiential approaches, an anti-authoritarian approach to social change, democratic participation, personal growth orientation, people orientation, individualism, a pragmatic view of reality, emphasis on formative self-evaluation, variety and creativity, and a holistic approach to human development.

Within adult education, it is not difficult to find links to humanism. For instance, threads of humanism can be linked to Lindeman (1926/1988), who discussed the link between individual growth and social change. Lindeman concluded that adult education would "become an agency of progress if its short-time goal of self-improvement can be made compatible with a long-time, experimental but resolute policy of changing the social order" (p. 103). Several decades later, Knowles (e.g., 1989) popularized the term "andragogy" as an approach to adult learning that drew largely from humanistic assumptions. While andragogy has had a clear influence on adult learning theory and practice, the approach has often been accepted and advocated in an uncritical manner. To a large extent, it has been this uncritical stance that I believe has maligned humanism with many adult educators. Much of the work in self-directed learning serves as another illustration of humanistic adult education. In one definition, self-direction in learning refers to both (1) learner control of the planning, implementation of the learning process and (2) internal characteristics of an individual that lead one to take responsibility for one's learning (Brockett & Hiemstra, 1991). As a final illustration, the "Improving Instruction" model proposed by Hiemstra and Sisco (1990) offers an approach to instructional planning that has a strong grounding in humanistic principles.

Each of the examples presented above -- andragogy, self-direction in learning, and the improving instruction framework -- have been, and should continue to be, critically analyzed. To do otherwise would be paramount to allowing practice to stagnate. At the same time, critical scrutiny does not mean that the humanist foundation must be abandoned.

Some Misunderstandings About Humanism

While humanism's influence on contemporary adult education is readily apparent in examples such as those presented above, so too have been the challenges leveled at the humanist paradigm. Critics on the far right have often opposed humanism because its views on the supernatural and immortality run contrary to Christian thought. These criticisms have most frequently been played out in the arena of public education, where critics of "secular humanism" have opposed programs designed to teach critical thinking and values clarification and have advocated the removal of textbooks and other materials perceived to include humanist influences.

Within adult education, perhaps the larger concern for some educators is a belief that humanism may be inconsistent with their own theistic orientation. However, humanism need not be construed as an "all-or-nothing" concept. As Elias and Merriam (1994) have noted, not all humanists see the affirmation of autonomy and the existence of a god to be mutually exclusive beliefs. To "pure" humanists, I suspect that may be viewed as a misappropriation; however, in my years of working with adult educators in many settings, I have observed people time and again resolve this dilemma in a way that allows them to incorporate elements of humanistic practice in their work without abandoning their personal faith.

A second challenge to humanistic adult education comes from those whose commitment to approaches such as competency-based education and instructional systems design, where limited value is placed on phenomena that can neither be measured nor counted. While humanism does not necessarily reject the quantitative measurement of phenomena or performance, it does unswervingly stress the importance of the affective domain, the elements of which are often not easily measured. In practice, there are strategies that can be used to bridge humanist practices with those more grounded in behaviorist assumptions, however (Hiemstra & Brockett, 1994).

Perhaps most pervasive challenge to humanistic adult education today is the misconception of humanism as a self-centered, hedonistic approach that deals ignores social context and issues of social justice and change. For instance, in a comparison between critical thinking informed by humanistic psychology and critical theory, Collins (1995) argues that from a critical theory framework, "the 'freedom to learn' Carl Rogers so treasured can only be realized for ordinary men and women through counter-hegemonic pedagogical strategies" (p. 89). In a similar vein, Newman (1994) is quick to challenge humanism. Newman states that adult educators are generally too "nice" and, as such, are unwilling to define as enemies those who oppress others. He goes on further to argue that in some situations educators who encourage learners to strive for what seems clearly out of reach are actually serving to disempower those learners. In this and other examples, Newman seems to argue that the humanist perspective can actually serve as an oppressive force in learning for social change.

However, these views about humanism and social change are somewhat misguided because they either misrepresent or ignore an important element of humanist thought. Most humanists believe in the centrality of serving the common good. Lamont has noted, for example, that the greatest good can be achieved by "working for the good of all" (p. 15). Similarly, one of Maslow's (1970) characteristics of self-actualization is a tendency for individuals to focus on concerns that exist beyond themselves. And, O'Hara (1989) compared the ideas of Carl Rogers and Paulo Freire. She concluded that both men shared many of the same basic values in that both "unabashedly celebrate human existence" and that neither man "gives up on people" (p. 13). O'Hara also notes that while most of Rogers' career did indeed center on individual development, some of his later work addressed broader social issues (e.g., Rogers, 1987).

What Next?

The influence of humanism on contemporary adult education is clearly evident in many of the major developments of the past three decades. So, too, is the current wave of criticism leveled at humanistic adult education. Some of this criticism is well placed; particularly with regard to charges that humanism has been uncritically incorporated into many practices. On the other hand, I believe that much of the current criticism of humanism is based on misunderstanding of the paradigm. As next steps in the effort to reexamine the place of humanism in the future of adult education, I offer three suggestions.

First, we need to recognize that while humanism indeed offers a perspective filled with optimism and hope, it is inaccurate to believe that it is blind to issues of social justice, equity, and human rights. Injustice does exist and to ignore this is utterly naive. Humanism assumes that human nature is basically good and that potential for growth is virtually unlimited. Clearly, there are times when human nature goes awry and it is here, at the interface of humanism and social justice, where we need to take a closer look.

Second, we are at a point in the development of adult education where theory-building has never been stronger. Critical theory and postmodernism have been afforded much attention and careful scrutiny in recent years and the adult education field is stronger for it. Humanism, however, has never really received this kind of critical examination. I encourage those of us who share an interest in the ideas presented by humanism to more closely examine the epistemological foundations of the approach. By doing so, we will be in a stronger position to determine the future potential of humanism for adult education.

Finally, many developments in humanism and humanistic psychology go virtually unnoticed by adult educators. For instance, in recent years, the Journal of Humanistic Psychology has published articles in such areas as personal growth, self-actualization, politics, peace, mediation, community building, holistic health, holistic learning, dialogue, and contemporary analyses of contemporary culture. Many of these, I would suggest, have a direct link to the work of adult educators. It would seem that there is much territory to explore in terms of more fully realizing the potential of humanism in adult education practice. Thus, instead of serving as a paradigm on the verge of obsolescence, the humanist perspective holds much promise as a wide open area of exploration for adult educators.

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THE POSTMODERN CHALLENGE TO CLARITY: THE MEANING OF GEORGE ORWELL'S POLITICS AND THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE FOR ADULT EDUCATION THEORY

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Abstract. The ascent of postmodernism has brought with it questions about the possibility of clarity of communication in language, both written and spoken. "Saying what you mean" is seen as a modernist illusion, obscuring the fact that all discourse is subject to multiple readings. Critical pedagogues view calls for clarity of expression in academic writing as either politically naive or camouflauge for a conservative agenda. In his essay "Politics and the English Language" Orwell argues the counterviewpoint: that a lack of clarity in language permits the furtherance of repressive, fascist and totalitarian political agendas.

I was brought up to value clarity of communication. In my schooldays English was the only subject I had any natural talent for. I learned that language could inspire action, both good and bad, and that it could easily be distorted for selfish ends. As an academic I have always written imagining a reader over my shoulder (to use the poet Robert Graves' evocative phrase) - someone who served as a bullshit detector. I would imagine that whenever my prose got too pretentious, flowery or jargon-ridden, this person would quietly tap me on the shoulder and ask "just who are you trying to impress?" This person was, and is, George Orwell. For Orwell, "the sloveliness of our language makes it easier for us to have foolish thoughts" (1946, p. 163.) Imagining Orwell peering over my shoulder as I write is a good way to keep my prose clean and honest.

In recent years, however, my faith in clear writing has been sorely tested. Part of this has had to do with writing for academic journals and tenure committee members, where it seemed that success was best achieved by taking Orwell's rules for writing clearly and doing the exact opposite. A more serious philosophical challenge has come from critical theorists and postmodernists. In turn, these maintain that (1) 'ordinary', 'everyday' language is so soaked with bourgeois assumptions and hegemonic meanings that it obscures inequities in the wider society and legitimizes injustice, thus requiring the development of a new, untaintedly radical, theoretical language of political commitment, and, (2) that language games are so perverse and local that the communication of shared, unequivocal meanings is impossible.

Three Critiques of Clarity

In their work on *Postmodern Education* Stanley Aronowitz and Henry Giroux (1991) castigate the "discourse of simplicity" called for by those who criticize the complicated linguistic convolutions of some critical theorists. They argue that the call to write clearly and accessibly "is evidence of a moral and political vision that increasingly collapses under the weight of its own anti-intellectualism" (p. 90). (This is ironic in view of Stanley Aronowitz's clear, but powerful, prose). In responding to criticisms that the prose of academic critical theorists is ponderous and riddled with unnecessary jargon they write, "it seems to us that those who call themselves progressive educators, whether feminists, Marxists, or otherwise, who make the call for clear writing synonymous with an attack on critical educators have missed the role that the "language of clarity" plays in a dominant culture that cleverly and powerfully uses 'clear' and 'simplistic' language to systematically undermine and prevent the conditions from arising for a public culture to engage in rudimentary forms of complex and critical thinking ... that progressive educators have largely ignored this issue when taking up the question of language makes suspect not only their own claims to clarity, but also the limits of their own political judgments" (p. 91).

A similar analysis of the way that calls for clarity mask a conservative political agenda is made in a recent *Harvard Educational Review* dialogue between Paulo Freire and Donaldo Macedo (1995). Macedo declares that "the blind and facile call for writing clarity represents a pernicious mechanism used by academic liberals who suffocate discourses different from their own. Such a call often ignores how language is being used to make social inequality invisible. It also assumes that the only way to deconstruct ideologies of oppression is though a discourse that involves what these academics call a language of clarity" (p. 391).

Serious questions regarding the possibility of writing and speaking clearly are also raised by a postmodernist stance. In their book *Postmodernism and Education* (1994) Robin Usher and Richard Edwards draw on the ideas of Derrida to call into doubt the Anglo-Saxon tradition of academic writing that values transparency - the communication of meaning clearly in words all can understand. They view as a modernist illusion the logocentric position which assumes "that a text can be read unequivocally, that a single, definitive meaning can be extracted from it and that the meaning so extracted is always one that can be 'applied' and will therefore enlighten us and make us more efficacious in furthering our pre-defined concerns" (p. 122). The idea of meaning and truth being transmitted unequivocally from author to reader, or speaker to listener, thus becomes an absurdity. In postmodernism the 'meaning' of language cannot be controlled either by the writer/speaker in the act of its creation, or by those who make and create multiple interpretations of its 'meaning'.

Commentary

Although I draw on critical theory, and have been productively challenged by postmodernism, I believe that the equating of calls to write clearly with a modernist naivete, or with a conservative political agenda, is dangerous and misleading. The postmodern alertness to the slippery opaqueness of language is familiar ground to linguistic and existential philosophers alike. It seems to me that this alertness is a justified and necessary corrective to the naivete of the transmission-reception model of communication through language. But to acknowledge the importance of this corrective is not to close down completely the possibility of communicating shared meanings. Usher and Edwards themselves are quite explicit in their ironic acknowledgement that they use modernist, linear speech conventions and 'academic' forms of communication to point out the naivete and absurdity of using modernist, linear speech conventions and academic forms of communication! Wittgenstein, Baudrillard, Sartre and Derrida did not or do not stop writing. Instead they recast writing as a ludic act, as an opportunity to play with form by using puns, fiction, jokes, non-sequiturs, non-linearity, juxtaposing 'high' poetic imagery with quotidian experience, and so on. At some fundamental level the deliberative act of writing itself presupposes the possibility of connection with another and the illumination of meaning - even perverse and contradictory meanings. So the postmodern position does not call into question all attempts to communicate meaning, so much as it warns us of the traps, inconsistencies and pitfalls endemic to this activity.

The arguments of Aronowitz, Giroux and Macedo concerning the use of language to mask political agendas are in many ways exactly those of Orwell. All these writers believe that dominant, conventional, privileged forms of language can be used to make cruelty and injustice seem natural. Compare these two paragraphs:

> "Defenceless villages are bombarded from the air, the inhabitants driven out into the countryside, the cattle machine-gunned, the huts set on fire with incendiary bullets: this is called *pacification*. Millions of peasants are robbed of their farms and sent trudging along the roads with no more than they can carry: this is called *transfer of population* or *recitification of frontiers*. People are imprisoned for years without trial, or shot in the back of the neck or sent to die of scurvy in Arctic lumber camps: this is called *elimination of unreliable elements*".

> "If we were to deconstruct the term "ethnic cleansing" we would see that it prevents us from becoming horrified by Serbian brutality and horrendous crimes against Bosnian Muslims. The mass killing of women, children, and the elderly and the rape of women and girls as young as five years old take on the positive attribute of "cleansing" which leads us to conjure a reality of "purification" of the ethnic "filth" ascribed to Bosnian Muslims, in particular, and to Muslims in the world over, in general...during the Gulf War, the horrific blood bath of the battlefield became a "theater of operation", and the violent killing of over one hundred thousand Iraqis, including innocent women, children, and the elderly by our "smart bombs", was sanitized into a technical term, "collateral damage"

The first is Orwell (1946, p. 173), the second Macedo (1995, p. 392). How is that both writers can make the same points about the political uses and distortions of language, yet come to opposite conclusions regarding the need for clarity ?

I believe that Aronowitz, Giroux and Macedo are fundamentally mistaken when they equate saying what you mean with simplistic reasoning. This erects a false dichotomy between clarity of communication and accuracy or sophistication of theoretical analysis. It's almost as if speaking or writing clearly are proof of anti-intellectual, right wing commitments and intentions. Equating clarity of expression with crudely simplistic reasoning, with an anti-theoretical "vote-catching call for a focus on the concrete" (Aronowitz and Giroux, 1991, p. 90), is a rhetorical trick that diverts attention from a pressing need of critical pedagogy - the need to develop a language that takes its ideas outside a group of converts and justifies its relevance to the great mass of educators who see their practice as above, or separate from, politics. With some notable exceptions the language spoken and written by academic critical theorists represents what Ira Shor (1992) calls an exclusionary, high status discourse. Ironically, it is also occasionally militaristic, as in the frequent injunction for educators to "interrogate" their practices (see Welton's 1994 review of Roger Simon's *Teaching Against the Grain*)

To me, there is a defensive tone in Aronowitz, Giroux and Macedo's rejections of criticisms regarding the inaccessibility of their prose. In their castigations of 'academic liberals' and 'so called progressives' with 'suspect political judgment' is a patronising tone reminiscent of their dismissal (p. 132) of Elizabeth Ellsworth's (1992) critique of critical pedagogy (in which they describe Ellsworth as self-righteous, using strawman tactics and theorizing in bad faith). Rejecting all calls for writing clearly as inherently conservative crafts a justification for creating a closed community of discourse to which only those who use a certain linguistic code are admitted. But asking that we write what we mean as clearly as we can is very far from saying that we should never be theoretical or use specialized terminology. As Welton (1995) writes, "we must distinguish bad, jargon-ridden writing from bad thinking, and understand that some difficult languages (like those of Adorno, Freire or Habermas) hold the promise of breaking us out into new ways of seeing the meaning of adult educational practice" (p. 2). Reading theory breaks the circle of familiarity. In a recent book of mine (Brookfield, 1995) I use hegemony (hardly a colloquial term) as a central concept through which to understand critical reflection. This word was chosen judiciously (I hope) as one that conveniently expressed a powerful and radical theoretical idea outside the range of everyday thought.

In adult education there are plenty of people who write clearly, critically and elegantly without sacrificing theoretical power, political commitment or analytical sophistication. Michael Welton and Michael Collins are two who come to my mind, you will choose your own. Calls for clarity are not the same as dismissals of theory. Neither are these calls, by definition, either conservative or politically naive. It would be hard to argue, for example, that C. Wright Mills or Raymond Williams were theoretically unsophisticated, or that Myles Horton was conservative or politically naive; yet all warned of the dangers of academic leftists creating a closed, ideologically pure neo-Marxist terminology and all managed to write and speak powerful, radical words in clear and accessible voices.

Orwell's Rules

Michael Welton (1994) has asked "What is hindering academics with their hearts more or less in the right place from writing clearly to our times?" (p. 305). Part of the answer to this question is that leftist educators have too readily interpreted calls for clarity as representing only a conservative agenda. Sometimes this is the case. But, as Orwell observed, language is distorted for political ends across the ideological spectrum. A call for clarity, for saying what you mean, is a call to penetrate the obfuscations of those who use language to mask their political agendas. As he writes, "If you simplify your English, you are freed from the worst follies of orthodoxy. You cannot speak any of the necessary dialects, and when you make a stupid remark its stupidity will be obvious, even to yourself. Political language - and with variations this is true of all political parties from Conservatives to Anarchists - is designed to make lies sound truthful and murder respectable, and to give an appearance of solidity to pure wind" (1946, p. 177). As an aid to simplifying English, Orwell proposes that we follow five rules

(1) Never use a metaphor, simile or other figure of speech which you are used to seeing in print.
(2) Never use a long word where a short one will do.
(3) If it is possible to cut a word out, always cut it out.
(4) Never use a foreign phrase, a scientific word or a jargon word if you can think of an everyday English equivalent.
(5) Break any of these rules sooner than say anything outright barbarous. (p. 176)

How could we put these rules into practice? One way would be to encourage the publication of 'talking books' in which conversations between educators are transcribed and published. Paulo Freire has pioneered this approach in his books with Ira Shor, Donaldo Macedo, Antonio Faundez and Myles Horton. As he says, speaking rather than writing a book induces "a certain relaxation, a result of losing seriousness in thinking while talking. The purpose is to have a good conversation but in the sort of style that makes it easier to read the words" (Horton and Freire, 1990, p. 4). It is noticeable that Giroux's interviews in *Border Crossings* (1992) are much more successful in communicating clearly and powerfully the ideas contained in the chapters written for the rest of the book. The unanimous verdict of my doctoral students is that such talking books have a far more profound and long-lasting influence on how they think about and practice adult education, than do texts written according to the conventions of academic theory, critical or otherwise.

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TALES OF THE ALHAMBRA: WOMEN'S PROGRAMS AS HAREMS[*]

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Abstract: This study illustrates how women's programs in governments and institutions can be co-opted by bureaucratic operations. It utilizes feminist critiques of bureaucracy to describe how women's programs and workers are *feminized* within the zones they occupy in organizations; exoticized as experts on, and inhabitants in, their own oppressive enclosures; and quarantined as/in "women's places" within the bureaucracy.

Introduction: For over a decade Canadian governments and institutions have addressed the status of women by establishing internal programs, departments and agencies. While there have been many concrete achievements (increasing support for child care, assisting women survivors of violence) there remains a worrisome lack of gender awareness in administration and decision making. Women's programs function as part of administrative structures, as well as agents of social change. Further, they play a vital role as educators (of politicians, bureaucrats, voluntary agencies, corporations and the public at large) concerning women's position in society and the ideological forces that operate against equity. This invites scrutiny by adult educators (Carriere, 1995), who might speculate whether women's programs consent to or confront the "organizational tyranny" (Ferguson, 1984) of institutional bureaucracy in which they are embedded.

While working for social justice in government, I have been frustrated by the gap between policies "preached", and the subjugating practices of bureaucratic life. The irony of women and men performing -- in the name of equity and feminism - rituals of hierarchy, subjugation and domination as part of daily bureaucratic life, needs more than the shrug and "go figure" with which such perversions are routinely treated. Hence this study, which concentrates on how women's programs situated in bureaucracies reproduce oppressive power operations, and are treated by the mainstream as feminized, exoticized enclaves, marginalized by the orthodoxies of institutional power. I demonstrate there is a tendency to encase, depoliticize and veil oppositional issues and struggles within these organizational units, which then must be managed, "resourced" and disciplined as part of a larger system. The title of this paper is intended to provoke images of captivity, exoticism and power. Reference to Washington Irving's description of the Moorish ruins draws attention to how romanticism and patriarchy shape official knowledges. It also recalls how modern institutional bureaucracy continually reinstalls hierarchical and patriarchal authority through its stories and discourses.

Conceptual Origins

Insights of people I have talked to over the last few years, as well as my own direct experience with institutional and government bureaucracies, led me to speculate that feminism and bureaucracy may be ideologically irreconcilable. This premise is validated in feminist, post-colonial and postmodern scholarship, which shapes the theoretical frame for my arguments.

Feminist Critiques: Because it has sought equity primarily by appealing to the state, liberal feminism has not mounted a convincing critique of state bureaucracy (Stromquist, 1995). More radical feminisms offer frameworks for questioning and problematizing these arrangements as politically significant arenas for struggles over power, status, personal values, and survival. I draw on two such critiques. The first of these is Ferguson's (1984) feminist re-interpretation of Foucault's work, in which she explores operations of dominance and subordination in bureaucracies; the bureaucrat as a product, site or vehicle of the operations and languages of power; and the feminized, *second sex* role assigned to the disempowered bureaucrat and the clients she serves. The second is Fraser's (1992) descriptions of power struggles which identify, define and communicate women's *needs*, and the part played in those struggles by institutionalized, or *expert*, discourses which marginalize and depoliticize *oppositional* origins of advocacy. These analyses are buttressed by critical, postmodern and popular theorizing about bureaucracy.

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Women's Experience I interviewed six women, and drew from responses by three others to a colleague's informal survey concerning whether governments have adopted or co-opted a feminist agenda . Respondents were asked to reflect on their experiences working with women's programs in a bureaucratized environment. Their positions encompass service user, student, manager, professional worker and administrative support staff. They were chosen because I knew them to be aware of and struggling with contradictions associated with doing feminist work within institutional bureaucracies. I made no attempt to select a representative sample. All quotes appearing in distinct text are exerpts from their responses.

Critical Perspectives

Bureaucracy as a System of Discipline Central to the bureaucratic "paradigm" are: strict hierarchy enforced by uniform application of rules and authority; line functions staffed by technical experts; centralized and exclusive authority and control over administrative functions (personnel, budgeting) (Barzelay, 1992). This logic is not politically innocent. It supports regimes of discipline and surveillance which influence workers, clients and possibilities for policy and action (Foucault, 1979). Myths of expertise and impartiality, and the pseudo-rational language of administration, veil and mystify adversarial relations of dominance, subordination and resistance that constitute bureaucracies. The supposed apoliticality of administrative language, and its co-option of resistance, suppress opportunities for open contestation and debate which constitute meaningful politics. Both bureaucrats and clients are rendered "mute about themselves and their situations" (Ferguson, 1984:16), refused a language in which to introduce their feelings and experiences. Portrayals of needs by governments and other state-sanctioned bureaucracies take the form of hegemonic, *expert* discourses, which translate politicized needs into objects of state intervention (Fraser, 1992). Moreover, bureaucratic organizations exist in larger contexts of societal inequality based on gender, class and race. This adds other dimensions to the hierarchical, oligarchical power asymmetries intrinsic to bureaucratic organization. "Bureaucracy, as the 'scientific organization of inequality', serves as a filter for these other forms of domination, projecting them into an institutional arena that both rationalizes and maintains them" (Ferguson, 1984:8).

Two Metaphors Metaphors open multiple meanings to the reader by suggesting networks of entailments that highlight some features and hide others. They are analytically useful because they encourage new ways of understanding and resisting what we experience, know and believe (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). I use two powerful metaphors *-feminization* and *haremization-* to explore disjunctions between the intent of women's programs and their operation within bureaucracies. They dramatize interplays of sex, power and knowledge in the construction of gender issues, roles and relations.

Feminization Bureaucratic administration creates and assigns feminized, subordinate roles and identities. Performed by women or men, these emulate traditional subordinate or *second sex* roles: political, not biological, capacities still assigned to women within the wider society. *Feminizing* refers to extending the depoliticizing, privatizing aspects of what is supposed as the traditional role of women (supportive, dependant, non-assertive, attentive, expressive) to workers and service users disempowered by bureaucracy. The courtesan of eighteenth century Europe is an archetype for the modern technocrat, who practices clever and obsequious behaviour in the face of authority. This obsequiousness is personified in "the mythological female at her most untrustworthy and immoral - that is, seeking favour by flattery or behaviour" (Saul, 1993:81).

Haremization This metaphor invokes romanticized Western notions of an exotic women's place, rife with intrigue, sexuality, subjugation and service. It suggests political and social separation of women's places (traditionally, private arenas for women's sexual and domestic power), and public power, traditionally seen as the male domain. Because they are seen to be concerned with "private" issues, women's programs are often isolated, exoticized and disempowed within bureaucracies, a process I refer to as *haremizing*. Women's programs and workers are haremized when they are: *marginalized* within bureaucracies; viewed as using logic, research techniques and social exchanges that are esoteric, non-rigorous and *appropriate for women only*; assigned specific sites within bureaucratic structures that are regarded as *forbidden women's zones* in the eyes of many; isolated in introducing *subjectivity, sex, sexuality and the domestic* as legitimate sites for policy and research (traditionally dismissed as women's interests, excluding of men, and therefore not acceptable substance for analysis). The metaphor can be extended to the dynamics of administration. To gain approval and resources from the *main* system, women's programs must adopt the main (male) administrative model: analytic, independent, rational, competitive, "hard", instrumental. But this mode is de-maculinized (castrated), when embodied by administrators who operate as part of women's programs. This accommodates infiltration and free operation of the power of (male) bureaucratic logic within the sacrosanct women's enclave. This evokes the image of eunuch, powerful emissary between the harem and the sultan.

Tales from the Cloister

As outlined, the regime of bureaucracy can marginalize and exoticize women's programs and people identified with them. This is illustrated by examples from women connected with government agencies dedicated to women's issues and women's programming in British Columbia, who I quote in the next section. Reflecting on their accounts, and my own experience and readings, I identified six techniques that impose standards of behaviour that feminize and isolate women's programs and their workers and clients.

1) ***Inventing the Client*** The rhetoric of bureaucratic needs definition inevitably translates experienced needs into administrative needs, transforming clients and their needs into objects of administration. This imperative does not spare women's programs, nor users of their services. Whether or not workers in women's programs believe people who use their services are deficient and dependent, they often characterize them that way to obtain resources from a reluctant administration, board or cabinet. Conversely there is the tendency to depict women as beleaguered, superhuman heroes of struggle and adversity, to justify women's consumption of public "benefits". These romanticised extremes enter the discourse, portraying only "the fallen, the lonely and the brave" as deserving. This language disqualifies clients as agents in the vital political contest of needs interpretation (Fraser, 1992). Enormous resistance is required, and strong senior support, to prevent needs *as experienced* from being transformed to depoliticized abstractions and repositioned as *cases*, whereby people are *"rendered passive, positioned as potential recipients of predefined services rather than as agents involved in interpreting and shaping their life conditions"* (Fraser, 1992:174).

When social issues are assigned to women's programs, political debates are sequestered and spoken about in the specialized discourse of *women's needs*, rather than entering more general discussions. If, say, spousal abuse is discursively enclosed as a personal or domestic matter (as is suggested by the term *domestic violence*, and its relegation to women's programming), then debate and action is assigned to specialists in women's issues. Program responses tend to deal narrowly with women as clients and victims, rather than addressing the wider social issues of which spousal abuse is a part. In a male-dominated bureaucracy this enclosure is convenient. It reinforces marginalization and neglect of these issues, and lets the rest of the system *"off the hook"*. In one woman's words: *"pockets of programs that address concerns of feminists are allowed to exist, but broader programs that impact on a greater number of people are being developed in the same old ways, with a few measures to address accessibility, etc., thrown in as an afterthought."* Isolation is sustained when these issues are mystified within women's programs, partly to justify location of jurisdictional and program authority there. Women's experience and needs thus become forbidden and unknowable by all but those in women's programs who are "experts".

2) ***Romancing the Client*** In any service offered by bureaucracy, a docile client is a good client. Interestingly this axiom co-exists with efforts by women's programs to foster and strengthen women's constituencies. But the role of bureaucrat as enabler is different from being a constituent. One woman expressed *"frustration with the hypocrisy"* because some workers in government women's programs *"pretend they are working in vanguard women's organizations, which they are not"*. She felt women in government programs should come to terms with the contradictions of their situation, and work realistically, effectively, and when necessarily, through resistance. She was also concerned that women working in these environments tend to *"talk only amongst themselves"* and change only their "corner", rather than looking at *"the whole world"*. Women's programs can and do overcome the suffocation of bureaucratic self-referenciality by forming strategic alliances with groups and advocates to garner input and support for policies and positions. Needless to say, some advocates are more equal than others when it comes to influencing power, and alliances are carefully cultivated and chosen.

3) ***Administrative Repression*** Some women in women's programs claimed being demoralized by various applications of bureaucratic discipline, usually administered by female managers. They reported feeling particularly traumatized and frustrated when treatment seemed obviously contrary to feminist or "women-friendly" approaches, such as failure to make allowances for family needs through flexible work arrangements, expressing heterosexism and racism, or applying inappropriate and authoritarian "management techniques" (such as shaming and belittling women who have experienced sexual and other abuse). Feminism challenges women managers to resist admonitions to "drop their inclinations to view their jobs in terms of the value of the process, to concentrate solely on outcome", and adopt bureaucratic style "for reasons of self-interest", and to "learn to treat others as objects", in order to achieve "a better fit between the management environment and themselves" (Ferguson, 1984:189). Ignoring connections between how one manages and feminist analyses of power relations, is not only politically suspect: it is costly in human and economic terms. One woman became seriously and chronically ill; another simply withdrew her passion for her work; one resisted and was further disciplined and marginalized; another resigned her position. In all cases, these women became victims of bureaucracy because it was administered uncritically in ostensibly feminist or "women-centred" programs. They were assigned and acted out politically powerless subject positions. Their oppression was unmitigated by their location in women's programs; rather, they felt their isolation in these programs heightened it.

Even women's programs with a conscious commitment to egalitarian, nonbureaucratic forms of operation can find their political goals imperilled within the realm of bureaucratic discourse. Government workers, managers and program users are all subject to control of crucial resources (budgets, grants, time, authorization, marks, workspace), and all depend on being granted entry to bureaucratic discourse, on bureaucracy's terms, to obtain resources. Deviations from administrative norms by women's groups or by women's programs (more collaborative, participatory or collective management approaches) are seen as "problems" which threaten traditional conditions of control, predictability, and surveillance - camouflaged in bureaucratic language as "accountability", "meeting objectives" and "evaluation". Program goals "become increasingly focused on the maintenance of the flow of resources that bureaucratic discourse makes available, and the discourse of egalitarianism and participation dies." (Ferguson, 1984:73).

4) Learning to Please In their traditional role, women are expected to provide support for others by "stroking": maintaining "solidarity within groups by offering reassurance to the members, praising them, and raising their status" (Ferguson, 1984:96). Women had much to say about how this operates within women's programs, and in relations between such programs and the larger institution. Despite nominal support for assertiveness, respondents reported being "*disempowered*" by a "*levelling*" principle that seemed to guide relations within women's programs. Constrained from engaging in meaningful political discussion, one woman spoke of "*unwritten rules*" for communication that discouraged open disagreement, under the guise of "*not silencing*" others. She reported that a speaker's credibility could depend on using the right "*supporting*" techniques even when open disagreement could be constructive and honest. Some women I talked to reflected that this regime of behaviour was so entrenched, discipline was not necessary since there was "*mutual and self enforcement*". Women also spoke of being perceived as "*shrill*" and "*confrontational*" by other agencies when they raised objections or made suggestions concerning fair practices for women in the larger institution. Among the women I talked to, most found this less constraining than the expectation by peers and management in their own program that they should at all times "*model*" discourses of respect and appeasement. And yet they reported continuing to need and seek the "*safety and solidarity*" afforded within the enclosure of the program, the "*shared values and knowledge*" of peers. Ferguson makes this point: oppression lies not in the practices themselves, but in their use as subjugating operations. Many feminists are proud to claim that women tend to be less confrontational, more interactional, in relations than men. However, expectations that this is *women's way*; the reality that bureaucracies continue to credit instrumental approaches while they simultaneously demand, exploit and devalue deference; and the imposition by women's programs of "woman's way" discourse as a disciplinary measure, comprise an oppressive reality for many women within women's programs.

"*Cocktail feminists*" are women who gained government positions and were "*favoured*" in women's issues in the late 1980s, according to one respondent. Smart, ambitious, presentable and "*lady like*", they sympathize with some feminist issues "but would never declare themselves to be feminist in public, particularly at work...Most could talk the feminist talk enough to sound knowledgeable about the issues but at the same time conservative enough not to be a threat to those with the power". Committed feminists, this respondent argued, were only allocated positions until a *cocktail feminist*, exhibiting the right combination of upward mobility and acceptability, could be found. Such women avoided adopting anything approaching a feminist critical analysis; some advocated cessation of women's programs in the "backlash 90's", since "*we are equal now*".

5) Totalizing with Texts Formal and informal methods of control proliferate every aspect of bureaucratic life, usually sanctified in some form of written text. Paper and written records are synonymous with bureaucracy, even in this age of electronic information. These forms of captured knowledge and authority are highly revered and invoked religiously. Their static-ness is a fetish in the face of ambiguity and change, which is the nature of organizations and their environments. Even when personnel manuals and other procedural policies are outdated and nonsensical they remain authoritative until replaced with another authorized text. Briefing books provide politicians and senior bureaucrats with "official" knowledges written in politically denatured bureaucratic language. Catalogued, coded and repeatedly consulted, they ensure uniformity in understanding and articulating issues (Saul, 1993).

Postmodernists and some feminists regard such texts as apparatus of totalization and subjugation. Transgressive and marginalized groups, such as women and aboriginal peoples, value oral and personal histories as ways of speaking from experience and introducing new subjectivities into discourses of power. Bureaucracies are traditionally suspicious and disrespectful of these modes of expression, regarding them at best as interesting, but invalid evidence for policy or decision-making. This is the case in institutional bureaucracies where the non-subjective, expertly written word is still revered as ultimate authority. While "women's voices" are perpetually sought and valorized in women's programs, they still must obtain their credibility within the larger system by using analytical, administrative arguments, authored and authorized by appropriate persons in the hierarchy. Consequently, carefully tended collections of "voices" obtained by women's programs continue to enjoy restricted circulation and credibility. They are in danger of becoming museum pieces, harem artefacts, carefully exchanged and viewed/heard by the converted, but obtaining little relevance unless and until they are *re-voiced* by an appropriate authority. This remains a challenge for women's programs, who must move beyond revering "women's voices" within their programs, to having them accepted as credible throughout the system.

6) Encasing Sites of Difference Notwithstanding equity measures, similarity still remains a basis for control, predictability, and making judgements about competence and trustworthiness in bureaucratic administration. "The more similarity there is in outwardly identifiable characteristics, such as race, sex, dress, language and style, the more likely is an aspirant to be seen as the 'right kind of person', and given access to positions of discretion and power" (Ferguson, 1984:106). This reproduces patterns of prejudice and stratification present in the larger society. Presentation skills, *"fitting in"* (conformity), *"covering your ass"* are highly encultured tools for survival and advancement in bureaucratic settings. They are hard to learn if not already part of cultural or personal repertoires, and are easily misunderstood and misapplied, depending on the expectations and behaviours they are mediated by. The *"rules of the game"* are not equally accessible to all. Moreover, for workers with a political agenda (as people from marginalized groups often are), the oppressiveness of bureaucratic life strikes an all too familiar chord, and they may find themselves resisting it at their own peril. Such resistance is usually remembered as "problem behaviour", and stereotyped to other members of the group, reinforcing existing disincentives for equity hiring or promotion.

Given this, it is not surprizing that governments and institutions don't represent diversity, don't have powerful discourses for talking about it, and don't deal with it as a significant political reality throughout administration, operations and programming. Stratifications that shape the dominance of *"white-able-maleness"* have shifted significantly only in terms of: gender in women's programs, ability in disability programs, people of colour in multicultural programs, aboriginal people in aboriginal programming, and so on. This ***ghettoization*** reflects similar issues entailed in the metaphor ***haremization*** when it is applied to women's programs. Sequestering "difference" almost exclusively in special program enclaves or in the lower echelons of job classifications, is a questionable mode of empowerment.

Conclusion

This report is a cautionary tale to encourage adult educators to consider what can happen when uncritical approaches incorporate the "other" into organizational operations which themselves remain unchallenged. Although some women in this study felt that the *"women's agenda"* had been *"co-opted, not adopted"* by bureaucracies, others felt advances had been made even if the *"rules of the game"* were unchanged, since they had *"learned better to play"*. Building a critical mass of feminist-thinking people throughout institutions was also seen as a positive outcome of women's programs, although "rudimentary". I agree, however, with the woman who felt that adopting feminist models of governance (inclusive, non-hierarchical, egalitarian, interdependent) is a necessary prerequisite to real commitment to a feminist agenda, neither of which has yet happened.

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THE PROCESSES OF ADULT LEARNING:
FAILURE AS FEEDBACK FOR MOTIVATION

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PURPOSE AND RATIONALE

The major objective of this research was to continue an in-depth inquiry into case studies of successful adult learners to examine the occurrence, frequency, nature, impact and role that failure plays in the evolution of active adult learning endeavors. During the final stages of research that investigated self-directed adult learning that occurred in various contexts, it became evident that the learning patterns and processes utilized by adults engaged in learning projects as defined by Tough (1979) follow identifiable patterns through which the individual progresses that lead to cognitive and/or social change. As a result of comparing and contrasting numerous studies that examined this phenomenon (Cavaliere's adult learning and the inventive process, Williams' adult learning and social advocacy, Sgroi's adult learning and dance, Carr's adult learning in museums, libraries and cultural institutions, Oliver's adult learning and social circles, Wolf and McLeish's older adult learning, Langer and Csikszentmihalyi's mindful adult learning and Zwerling's adult learning in the world of work), behavioral commonalities among the patterns and processes of the adult's learning emerged that served as a basis for the formulation of a conceptual model of adult learning. This model illustrated the sequence and patterns that evolve during active, self-directed learning. The nature of adult learning as exemplified by these data bases illustrated that this type of learning is active, problem centered, goal oriented, cyclical and interactive. During the course of this type of learning, cognitive, psychological and behavioral discoveries occur for the learner that escalate the learning and bring about personal transformations and knowledge revolutions for the learner and society at-large. This information was atypical in that it focused primarily on the processes of the learning phenomena and sought to expand the analytical perspective presently used in the field of adult education.

The questions that arose during the examination of active learning in varying contexts were: What is it that makes the learner act? Why do some people actively engage in learning? What is the source and nature of the motivation that triggers active learning? These data bases revealed similarities in identifiable variables that seem to have direct impact on the learning system and acted as a source of motivation for the learner. These variables had the ability to energize the system and triggered the learner to engage with the context to release energy in the form of actions and behaviors that subsequently resulted in change for the learner and the context. These power variables, as I refer to them, are generated by the learner, the context and the interaction between these systemic elements. These variables included, but were not limited to, the power of emotion, the partner/mentor, the model, marginality, timing and failure.

The continuation of this research has taken the form of an in-depth study of the nature and role of failure and how it serves as a powerful source of motivation for the learner when received as a form of feedback. The previous research illustrated that failure provides information to the learner that allows for retesting, comparing and contrasting of information and actions to be corrected and refined for future success. Failure is part of the learning process and successful, active learners are not intimidated by failure, but rather use it to reformulate and move on with their learning. Failure had the power to motivate these learners to remain persistent in the face of defeat;, to master their goals and fulfill their dreams. This continuation study examined the impact and role that failure plays in the active learning process and the influence that failure has on the adult learner to act as a powerful form of motivation. Failure as feedback that triggers motivation was investigated as one power variable that influences the decision making and subsequent learning processes that follow the experience of failure.

METHODOLOGY

The major objective of this research is to continue an in-depth, heuristic inquiry into case studies of successful adult learners to examine the occurrence, frequency, nature, impact and role that failure plays in the evolution of active learning endeavors pursued by adults. The specific research objectives focus on the relationship and impact of failure as a form of feedback to the learner and how this feedback influences motivation for the learner. Examples of specific questions that guide the inquiry are: In what forms does failure manifest itself to the learner? How is failure communicated to the learner? How does the learner perceive failure? What are the reactions of the learner to failure? What is the frequency with which the learner experiences failure and how does this affect the learning patterns and processes? What is the nature of the context within which the learner experiences failure? How does failure act as a form of feedback to the learner? How does the timing and frequency of experiences with failure impact the future learning patterns and processes employed by the learner? How does failure act as feedback to motivate the learner to continue in the pursuit of their learning goals?

Methodologically, content analysis and naturalistic inquiry are being employed as a research strategy to analyze diaries, biographies and historical documents that describe case studies of successful adult learners. The definition of successful adult learner is in keeping with the initial research that serves as the theoretical framework for this study. Additional theoretical frameworks that inform this analysis are: adult learning theory, adult developmental psychology, motivation theory, communication theory and social network theory.

Initial content analyses of nine case studies of successful adult learners revealed similarities in behavioral patterns and learning processes that were a direct manifestation of reactive responses to their experiences with failure. The case studies provided examples of adults engaged in active learning in order to solve problems and achieve clearly defined personal and/or professional goals.

Using naturalistic inquiry to guide the analysis, the longitudinal trails that the learners blazed from the inception of the problem (or the articulation of the outcome goal) to the successful completion of their learning projects, were charted for observable behavior patterns and learning processes that were identified in the original research. The subjects' thoughts and words, as well as recognizable, manifest behaviors, were counted for frequency, coded and categorized according to the ways in which the individual reacted to failure during their learning projects. The subjects for this round of analysis consisted of twelve males, some working in teams and others individually, who successfully accomplished a predetermined goal or solved a clearly defined problem through independent, self-directed learning projects. These successful adult learners included Bill Bowerman, founder of Nike, Arthur Jones, the inventor of the Nautilus machine, Fred Smith, founder of Federal Express, Godfrey Hounsfield, developer of the CAT Scanner, Kiichiro Toyota and Taiichi Ohno, revolutionizers of Toyota, Dr. James Black, inventor of Tagamet, Dick Duke, founder of ChemLawn, Spence Silver, the chemist who discovered the glue used in 3M's Post-it Notes and Kenjiro Takayanagi, Yuma Shiraishi and Shizuo Takano, inventors and developers of the VCR.

The data culled from the content analyses of these case studies was incorporated with the findings from the studies of adult learners in multiple contexts previously cited. This resultant data was compared and contrasted to the initial research findings that focused exclusively on the Wright

Brothers to determined the relevance of the conceptual learning process model that evolved from these initial analyses of adult learning processes.

FINDINGS

The initial level of investigation of the data validated the original tenets of the conceptual learning process model and identified eight behavioral themes that successful adult learners manifest relative to the role of failure during their learning project.

The nature of active adult learning as described by Cavaliere (1991, 1992) was exhibited by these adult learners in every case. The learners were involved in a highly active, dynamic interchange between their own characteristics and those of the context. Their learning was problem centered, goal oriented, cyclical and interactive. Their learning involved perspective transformation (Mezirow,1991) and change. During the initial stages of the learning project, the learner initiated an inquiry process that began with the statement of a problem or a clearly articulated outcome goal. This inquiry process was usually triggered by a situation that was highly emotional and meaningful to the learner that created a state of discountenance for the individual. This state acted as a motivational mechanism that caused the learner to engage in active learning to achieve homeostasis. This phenomenon is similar to Vygotsky's theory of zone of proximal development, equilibration of Piaget as reinforced by Williams (1989), Wolf's (1992) creative tension and Csikszentmihalyi's (1982) zone of optimal flow -- a zone between frustration and boredom.

The case studies examined revealed that the learner, in every instance, was actively involved in the learning process; cognitively, physically and emotionally. The physical act of taking some form of action was the most powerful aspect of initiating the learning process. Physical involvement, motivated by high emotional commitment, drove the learner through the context in an exploratory fashion whereby each subsequent learning behavior was a result of its antecedent. Frequently the antecedent activity was some form of failure. However, through a series of identifiable behaviors and interactions with the context, their learning resulted in some form of change for the individual and very often for society-at-large.

When confronted with failure, the learners exhibited reactions that formed patterns of behaviors that depict eight distinct themes. In each instance, the individual manifested an intense level of persistence when faced with failure. The themes of the learning behaviors manifested in response to failure involved:

1. Problem Solving

Their inquiry began with a very clearly defined problem to solve that would lead to the creation or discovery of the end concept/product. In each case the proper statement of the problem was embodied in their idea of the "elegant concept" (Nayak and Ketteringham,1986, p.18). The learner is very often obsessed with the problem. This obsession permeates the person's being and the individual is dauntless in finding the solution. The existence of the problem seemed to provide a clarity that assisted the learners in seeing through their failures.

2. Visioning

The individual could describe the final concept or outcome product at the early stages of the inquiry. This ability to visualize the outcome or solution is a result of the individual having the capability to think bisociatively. According to Koestler, "the bisociative thinker is one not only obsessed with a problem, but one who is capable of responding to spontaneous flashes of insight in which they see a familiar situation or event in a new light. Bisociative thinking connects previously unconnected matrices of experience" (Nayak and Ketteringham, 1986, pp. 18-19). Although the learners had the final outcome envisioned, the steps to bring forth the product are not always known and may take long periods of time to unfold.

3. Objectifying

When failure did occur, the learner did not view the failure as a personal issue. It was not their failure, it was the failure of the process or method that was employed that failed to solve the problem or move the process to a successful end. The failure was not personalized and they did not perceive themselves as being failures. .

4. Emotion

There was intense emotion experienced by the learners throughout the learning process. This emotion acted as motivation to overcome failure and persist toward success. The emergence of their learning processes seem to originate first in their spirit and heart. The emotion experienced by the learners seems to provide the energy for incredible persistence and perseverance in the face of failure. And because their emotion is so deeply personal it emerges as a powerful driving force that propels the learner to fly in spite of the failure.

5. Reflecting

The learners viewed failure as an opportunity to gather information. They would analyze the details of the failure and understand what went wrong. This understanding of error provided valuable information in the form of immediate feedback for the learners to implement corrective behavior. They used the failure to hone their problem-solving skills by focusing on the trial and error aspect of the process rather than viewing the lack of a correct solution as a failure. Experimentation was their modus operandi.

6. Partnering

There were usually other individuals with whom they partnered to solve their problem. These partners believed in the learner's vision and offered support, feedback, alternative ideas and hope in the face of failure. These partners took the form of colleague, mentor, teacher, spouse, sibling or co-worker.

8. Active Learning

The learner experienced failure as a result of doing something, not just thinking about it. Their active state of learning and engaging with their contexts created opportunities for trial and error which in turn fostered new concepts and behaviors.

The findings reinforce the original research which illustrated that failure provides information to the learner that allows for retesting, comparing and contrasting of data and actions to develop corrective actions for future success. Failure is certainly part of the active learning process and successful, active learners are not intimidated by failure, but rather use it to reformulate and move on with their learning project. In these case studies, failure received and perceived as feedback, had the power to motivate these learners to remain persistent in the face of defeat in order to solve their problems and accomplish their goals.

IMPLICATION AND APPLICATIONS

The learning behavior themes that emerged provide a descriptive analyses of reactive responses to failure that are employed by successful adult learners as well as character traits that are exhibited by these learners. This information serves as a basis for future research as well as data for adult educators engaged in the development of curriculum and the facilitation of learning.

The use of the conceptual model that was constructed during the initial phase of this research provides the framework from which to analyze the behavioral patterns and processes that adults employed while engaged in active learning. One of the power variables that seem to act as an intense form of feedback for motivation is failure. This research provided a systematic study of the nature and form of failure and its impact on the adult learner.

Changing perspective relative to failure seems to be one key that these successful adult learners used to unlock the mysteries of their world and themselves. Although there is a paucity of research on this topic in the field of adult education, this study presents a preliminary attempt to explore this phenomenon to further enhance the understanding of the processes of adult learning as well as inform the research base for further investigation.

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Doing Interpretive Research in a Technocratic Age: A Clash of Paradigms

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Abstract: This paper uses Habermas' paradigmatic conception to look critically at a research experience. It is postulated that a clash between an interpretive research approach and an institutional technocratic positivism was revealed through competing interests. Following a review of the paradigms and the research situation, conflicts around value, control and simplicity are discussed.

Introduction: The focus of this paper is the interface between an interpretive research methodology and the technocratic (i.e., positivist) orientation of a particular institution situated within a larger neo-conservative socio-political context. In my struggle to make sense of an unexpected oppositional experience, I categorized my experience into the "paradigms" conceptualized by Habermas (1971).

I was hired to work in an agency which had advertised for an experienced "qualitative" researcher to complement a staff already composed of persons with varied research interests and backgrounds. Throughout my tenure with the agency, competing views of research and practice dominated many discussions. The initial climate being favourable to so-called "qualitative" evaluation, however, an interpretive research methodology was selected for a major project. Hence, I and my closest colleague proceeded to approach our work in a spirit of learning from each other and from the research participants. Near the end of this lengthy research project, however, a series of organizational changes led to the establishment of a new administration responsible for the work of the evaluators. Enter: the clash of paradigms.

The Paradigms: According to Patton, a paradigm is "a world view, a general perspective, a way of breaking down the complexity of the real world... Paradigms are normative; they tell the practitioner what to do without the necessity of long existential or epistemological considerations" (cited in Briton, 1993, p. 44). The problem with paradigms, is that the lack of "epistemological consideration" often leads to blind faith in its propositions. The paradigm becomes taken-for-granted and there is little if any attention paid to the assumptions which govern adherence to its views. This is especially so when a particular paradigm becomes dominant. People operating in the everyday world come to assume that certain worldviews are "the truth" or the "right" way to do things. A mythical awe and acceptance of the dominant paradigm then precludes question, critique or the consideration of alternatives, even in the face of contrary evidence. Kuhn (1970) provided useful insights which demythologized the sanctity of the scientific paradigm but this has had little impact on its dominance in everyday reality and a part of his work has itself been co-opted to serve corporate interests.

From a critical perspective, a dominant paradigm becomes hegemonic when significant ideological and political apparatuses/institutions seize the paradigm to serve the interests of a particular group to the detriment of other groups. Throughout most of this century, the dominant paradigm has been positivism which has been promulgated by virtually all the major institutions in civil society, e.g., education, media and political bureaucracy. Habermas (1971) theorized that the persistent connection between knowledge and interests, which was presumed to have been severed with the emergence of positivism, was in fact merely disguised (Wilson, 1991). Thus, what counts as knowledge is in fact bound up in power (Briton, 1993).

An appreciation of the "clash of paradigms" requires an understanding of the differing interests inherent in different paradigms. A number of educators (e.g., Aoki, 1978; Briton, 1993;

Collins, 1991; Wilson, 1991) have relied on a tripartite framework initially posited by Habermas (1971) in order to explicate the contrasting assumptions of three paradigms: the positivist, interpretive and critical paradigms. Some such as Aoki (1978) contend that the weaknesses inherent in each paradigm argue for the inclusion of multiple approaches to looking at the world. Understanding, he argues, is more complete when "the same event is disclosed interpretively from different perspectives" (p. 7). Others such as Briton (1993) postulate that each paradigm developed as a result of a transcendent dialectic process from the one which preceded it.

Based on an historical dualism in the human sciences between subjectivism and objectivism, a number of essential dimensions distinguish each paradigm (Morrow & Torres, 1995). Ontology, epistemology, explanation and interest will be addressed in this paper. *Ontological* questions are those which examine the essential nature of being. Such questions are rooted in a theoretical dualism between an internal definition of reality and an external definition of reality. In the former, there is a focus on human consciousness and "constructed" realities. In the latter, reality is thought to exist independently of human consciousness and can be located and measured. *Epistemology* is a theory of knowledge or, stated differently, it is an agreement on what counts as knowledge. Broadly speaking, there is an opposition between positivism and anti-positivism. Modeled after the natural sciences, positivism is concerned with causality. In contrast, in an *anti*-positivist approach, knowledge is gained through an understanding of meanings and intentions rather than causal explanations. The purpose of sociological *explanations* and their related methodologies are viewed through the ideographic and nomethetic polarization. The former focuses on particular and local understandings while the latter aims for universal explanatory laws. Following directly from their respective ontologies, epistemologies and explanatory focus, different *interests* or aims are sought in each paradigm. This last is the unique perspective introduced by Habermas who attempts to transcend the subjective-objective polarization and reveal hidden interests. I will now proceed to summarize the major features and criticisms of the two competing paradigms operating in the practice situation introduced above, i.e., positivist and interpretive.

Positivist Paradigm: Also known as scientism or the technical-rational or empirical-analytic paradigm, proponents of positivism claim that there is an identifiable external reality outside of human consciousness. Hence, only observable phenomenon are valued as knowledge. A positivist view assumes that value-neutral, cause-effect relationships can be determined by means of measurement. As such it emphasizes the supremacy of *technical* knowledge in defining, predicting and ultimately, *controlling* the social world. Explanatory power is gained from the establishment of laws which are assumed to exist ahistorically. Critics suggest that the positivist paradigm is ultimately reductionistic and deterministic and that it ignores the value-laden nature of social study.

Interpretive Paradigm: Habermas (1971) called this the historical-hermeneutic paradigm. Broadly speaking, it is a study of the subjective and everyday experiences of human beings from their own point of view. In interpretive research, the emphasis of the study is on the meanings and interpretations of social worlds. The intent is to tap into complex social interactions and explore the subjective experience of a phenomenon, in this case, counselling experiences. Progressive stages of analysis of the data, drawn from people's everyday realities generates theory which brings to light the *meaning* of the phenomena. In other words, knowlege is *practical* and *understanding* is the aim. Positivists criticize this paradigm mainly for relying on subjective reality which they say cannot be validated. Proponents of a critical paradigm criticize the individualism, relativism and avoidance of an analysis of power structures.

Social Work and the Social Services: The particular conflict addressed in this paper unfolds in a large public social service agency which has a section devoted to the evaluation and development of its multiple preventive social services. The agency employees social workers and operates under the guidance of a "Social Work Practice Model." As an outgrowth of a social psychological theory termed symbolic interactionism, the social work profession falls largely within the interpretive paradigm.

Jane Addams is generally regarded as an important figure in the initiation of the social work profession in North America. Addams was a contemporary of the "Chicago School" whose members founded North American pragmatism. Among the early proponents were John Dewey and Eduard Lindeman, familiar names to adult educators. Indeed, Addams' philanthropic work with Chicago area immigrants between the two world wars included many educational endeavours, such as literacy and English language classes, in addition to providing the basic necessities of life through communal living at immigrant settlement houses (Deegan, 1987; Moreland & Goldenstein, 1985). Social work even today resonates with the pragmatist ideals of individual self-determination and egalitarianism (Carniol, 1990). Addams, along with others of the Chicago School, was an early proponent of symbolic interactionism which drew heavily on its pragmatist underpinnings (Deegan, 1987). This is clearly evident in the unique focus of social work practice which is on the *interaction* between person and the social environment.

As part of the public provision of services to marginalized groups, the subsequent growth of professional social work is a manifestation of welfare state policies (Carniol, 1990). However, it's inclusion into government has historically introduced contradictions to the original focus of the field. Two indications are relevant here. First, social work later became markedly influenced by the popularity of more functionalist accounts of the social world. The "ecological" model or "systems" approach to social work prevails today. These approaches, while sharing some affinity with symbolic interactionism, overemphasize notions of adaptation which fit well within the regulatory capacities of governments. However, the implication that social work plays a role as an ideological institution responsible for socialization and control, thereby undermining the professed egalitarian ideals, is little recognized (Carniol, 1990). Indeed the contradictions are uncritically reconciled in most accounts of social work practice. Second, similar to adult education (Collins, 1991; Wilson, 1991), social work's zeal for professionalization led to wholesale acceptance of the dominant technical-rational paradigm of practice in order to guarantee professional recognition (Carniol, 1990). Such an approach gains increasing currency in the current neo-conservative political climate. This is no less true concerning research and leaves a residual tension which contributes to dilemmas within both fields.

The Research: Like many organizations in the public service sector, this particular agency was responding to a recent emphasis on "accountability" for allocated resources by assessing the position and impact of it's services in the community. Under the rubric of "evaluation," a major project was undertaken to determine the "uniqueness" and the "effect" of the agency's counselling service within the spectrum of non-profit counselling agencies offered within the city.

Interpretive research methods included: purposive sampling of over 30 agency service users and social workers based on variation of participant situation and experience; in-depth, non-directive interviewing; thematic interpretation; and authentication through second interviews, multiple sources and reviewing the findings with credible sources. Semi-structured interviews with 8 other agencies, based on the emergent ideas from the internal interviews, were also incorporated. Research findings revealed a complex interaction between a particular philosophy, practice and structure that defines and distinguishes the agency in the community. Moreover, the findings suggested that the service redefines and transcends the traditional understanding of the term "counselling." Report-writing was initially consistent with interpretive methods which value accounts of lived experience as expressed by participants themselves.

The Clash: The attempt to operate within one paradigm using the philosophical underpinnings of another resulted in a paradigmatic clash experienced at the level of practice. Conflicting interpretations around methods, findings and report-writing became the overt representative of an underlying philosophical disjuncture. This disjuncture is addressed through a critical discussion of three main conflicts: value (an epistemological conflict), control (interests revealed) and simplification (the demand for "bite-sized" presentation of a complex phenomena).

Value: An epistemological conflict. The new administration acted quickly to influence the shape of the research projects. This immediately undermined the tentative foothold garnered by interpretive forms of evaluation and research in the agency. Not only were projects which predated their involvement dismissed but new projects took on a distinctive orientation. For the most part, only research proposals that relied upon broad-based distribution of questionnaires were acceptable. Thus, it became obvious that knowledge was valuable only if it fit the positivist paradigm. New managers clearly accepted the predominant idea that "scientific thought equates the non-quantifiable with the meaningless" (Briton, 1993, p. 16). Although there was a vague idea of "state of the art" evaluation that would provide leadership for the non-profit social service community, there was no recognition of the questionable and mythical basis of quantitative research in the social sciences.

As stated earlier, positivism relies on technical definitions of reality. It is common for scholars to use linguistic metaphors to illustrate the hegemonic hold of this technicist position. For example, van Manen (1990) suggests that the world is "caught up" in technological thought and Collins (1991) chastises that in "fall[ing] for the illusion of technique" we are conscripted into the "cult of efficiency." While Collins recognizes that accountability through efficient production of output measures (objectives/outcomes) is often required for program legitimization, he suggests that this "attitudinal deficiency" would be corrected by the view that "evaluation entails thinking and talking about values" (p. 73). Instead, like most, my agency was falling increasingly into the trap of operationalism, that is, by assuming that the measurement of the concept defines the concept, concepts for which no adequate operationalized account could be given were eliminated (Briton, 1993).

Control: Interests revealed. Briton (1993) astutely asks two questions. First: How can we explain the dominance of the positivist paradigm? The answer, he maintains, can be discovered in the role of *ideology*. Ideology "...shapes our ideas about our selves and the world to such an extent that we actively seek to mold our selves and our world to conform to our distorted understanding of it" (Briton, 1993, p. 42). Thus, the limits imposed by a particular paradigm serve to establish a world view within certain parameters. As already suggested, this allows certain views in and others which threaten the established order are discarded, dismissed or eliminated. The "distorting effect" of the conventional paradigm is recognized by many (Aoki, 1978; Collins, 1993). Clearly reminiscent of my own experience, Schick (1993) relates a moving account of just such an experience while doing feminist research.

> The committee accomplished the organization's purpose of maintaining objectivistic research methodologies as normal. The committee, mindful of its appearance before management, controlled the women's stories and evidence and asked me to report them in a more acceptable, impersonal, quantifiable form. (p. 340)

For a professional or scholar in a technical-rational world, one effective means of control is to label them "irrational." Many have written of the doubt, frustration and anxiety occasioned by choosing to do research from an alternative paradigm. Speaking from his personal experience in the academy, Briton (1993) discloses:

> To choose a discourse other than the professional discourse of the establishment to conduct research is not simply to be different, it is, by default, to be "irrational." The establishment's technicist discourse is now so firmly ensconced as the "rational," all "other" discourses, by virtue of their difference, are deemed "irrational" (p. 48).

This brings us to Briton's second question: Why? An answer to this question requires recognition of the political nature of the social world. Political, in this context, refers to interests and dominant interests refer to *power*. The interpretive tradition re-introduced the value-laden nature of knowledge which had been obscured by the myth of objectivity promoted by positivism. Habermas (1971) and others in the critical tradition further exposed the undertones of power. Thus, it becomes apparent that it is impossible to be apolitical because assuming the positivist position is to endorse certain assumptions which legitimate the current order (Briton, 1993). Briton is not alone in observing that the technical-rationality of the positivist paradigm serves the neo-conservative agenda of a provincial, national and global world order (Collins, 1993). Moreover, obsession with technique undermines the potential for a re-assertion of the social movement roots of adult education (Collins, 1993; Wilson, 1991) and likewise of social work (Carniol, 1990).

None of this is meant to suggest that there is no role for technical knowledge or control of the physical world. Nor is it to imply that a "radical subjectivism" is the answer. Rather, the problem lies in the inappropriate application of technique and technical knowledge to *control* the human world (Collins, 1993; van Manen, 1990). The inherent prescriptiveness contribute to ideological coercion and jeopardize human freedoms. Collins recommends instead that technology be shaped to meet practical human interests.

Simplicity: The demand for "bite-sized" presentation of a complex phenomena. For many proponents of the technical paradigm, simplicity and efficiency equate with "short and sweet" or to put it more cynically, "quick and dirty." From a variety of perspectives, this was clearly the case in this social service agency. First, the type of research and the time it took to complete (over 1 year) was dismissed as unworthy of the necessary resources. Second, the draft report, replete with quotes and contextual information, was considered too lengthy and too theoretical. We were repeatedly asked for an "executive summary" of only two or three pages focusing on recommendations. I was frequently reminded of the old catchphrase "just the facts, mam." Yet the findings revealed a complex multi-dimensional process that defied simplistic interpretation or presentation and that could only have been gathered by in-depth and open-ended exploration and analysis. It seemed that the findings had important implications for the impending reductionist policies of a new management team who were seeking, not to understand the unique and complex nature of the service, but opportunities to compartmentalize and eliminate particular programs.

We became cheerleaders for both the methodology and the information. We met with the administrators on several occasions to make a case for the value of the findings and a place for interpretive inquiry in the organization. We wrote a supplementary summary version which included all the themes, much of the context but stripped of the quotes. We wrote a preface entitled "Why should I read this report?" and outlined four major implications for the agency. Most importantly, we attempted to mobilize the front line staff to utilize the information in upcoming planning strategies and did the same ourselves. Although inroads were made in relation to some of the discreet major findings, little difference was made in the minds of the administrators regarding the method or the complexity of the analysis.It seemed that the findings suggested a path different from the one already pre-determined by the a new administrative plan in a climate of fiscal downsizing.

In his description of phenomenology, van Manen (1990) offers support for our struggle. He suggests that the role of research writing has been mistakenly detached from the other phases of research. Instead, he suggests that research and writing are one process and that writing fulfills an essential function in interpretive research through aiding in the reflection process. He adds that questions which seek to understand the experience of a social phenomena (such as ours - "what is your experience of counselling?") are necessarily complex and offer us "insights which bring us into more contact with the world" (p. 9). Moreover, it is the everyday world which offers us the most compelling accounts of social life.

> And that is why, when you listen to a presentation of a phenomenological nature, you will listen in vain for the punch-line, the latest information, or the big news. As in poetry, it is inappropriate to ask for a conclusion or a summary of a phenomenological study (van Manen, 1990, p. 13).

The contribution of such research is the depth and richness of interpretation. "A strong and rigorous human science text distinguishes itself by its courage and resolve to stand up for the uniqueness and significance of the notion to which it has dedicated itself" (p. 18).

When the richness and complexity is ignored and social reality overly simplified and objectified, everyday existence becomes unrecognizable (van Manen, 1990), distorted (Collins, 1991) and stripped of meaning and context (Schick, 1993). Taken to its extreme, the world itself is rendered meaningless as is envisioned in the following quote: "We can thus imagine a technical society of the future that had conquered its material problems but was afflicted with a loss of meaning that its own technical thinking left it unable even to grasp" (Barrett cited in Briton, 1993, p. 38). Schick (1993) identifies an important problematic: "How can the data be left to speak outside preconceived notions of what it will say?" (p. 342).

Implications for adult education: Interpretive and critical approaches are often avenues to hear and respond to more marginalized members of the community, many of whom (as in this case) are victims of poverty and/or violence. Increasingly, however, adult educators/researchers are faced with a demand for a technocratic approach to service delivery and inquiry. Fast answers and quick fixes intended to reduce costs attack the most vulnerable. Dialogue on these experiences can help promote critical awareness of the driving ideologies and agendas, identify theoretical and practical support for alternative approaches, and create space for resistance. As Collins (1991) advises:

> A realistic assessment of what can be achieved to temper and, ultimately, reform mainstream evaluation strategies calls for a careful analysis of relevant institutionalized power structures and the barriers they present to an emancipatory practice of adult education [or social work] (p. 78).

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EVOKING A GLOBAL CONSCIOUSNESS: TEACHER PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND GLOBAL EDUCATION

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Abstract: This study examined the effectiveness of a professional development program in transforming teacher thinking toward a global consciousness.

Introduction: Since the mid 1980s, global education has been gaining momentum as an educational movement that assists teachers and students in understanding and responding to the global challenges of growing interdependence between communities and nations. Beginning in 1987, global education projects were established in most Canadian provinces through the support of CIDA,[1] the provincial teachers' associations and the ministries of education. The global education projects were intended to be a professional development program that would enhance teacher understanding of global issues rather than obtain a curricular mandate or devise additional courses for implementation. In 1994, the Alberta Global Education Project commissioned an evaluative study to examine the effectiveness of its role in transforming teacher thinking toward a global consciousness. This paper recapitulates the foundational premises of the study and the affinity between action research methodology and global education. It summarizes the theoretical framework and situates the research within the transformative paradigm of global education. The key findings are discussed: first, that the origin of the participants' global consciousness[2] was in childhood political socialization[3] rather than in adult transformative learning through professional development activities. Second, the teacher participants named the institutional constraints they confront in practicing transformative global education. This resulted in reconceptualizing professional development for global education as engaging teachers in critical inquiry and moral-ethical discourse that links daily teaching issues with global dynamics. The paper concludes with the implications of this research that require further inquiry.

Purpose and Design of the Study: The study began by questioning the purpose of utilizing the findings to improve the professional development activities of the Alberta Global Education Project. The study identified a contradiction between the instrumentalist goal of finding more effective ways of stimulating a commitment to global education and the practical approach to professional development generally used by the Project that fosters teacher reflection. This research was situated in the critical mode rather than in the instrumentalist or practical modes (Grundy, 1982). In this mode, it was assumed that teachers and those engaged in professional development are not afforded the spaces required to reflect on the structural constraints that may undermine their stated intentions. The study also investigated two other assumptions: that professional development was directly attributable to professional development activities and that the study should utilize phenomenological methods with individual teachers. Understanding transformative global education to be dialogical, action-oriented, critical and integrative, the study was designed to gain a holistic understanding of the patterns of meaning teachers ascribe to their experiences and to examine their experiences within a larger socio-historical context.

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[1] Canadian International Development Agency

[2] Global consciousness refers to a critical understanding of global realities and globally responsible action.

[3] Political socialization refers to the process by which an individual acquires their particular political orientations.

Action research was utilized to explore this complex intersection between personal, professional, school and social change (Elliott, 1991; Carson & Sumara, 1992). The natural affinity between action research and global education is exemplified by common principles and a common praxis. Just as the primary purpose of action research is to address the theory/practice dichotomy by providing an epistemological process for responding to social issues, global education addresses the analysis/action dichotomy by providing an pedagogical process for social change. The notion of action in this research was neither a technical means for improving classroom practice nor a practical process for teacher reflection. Rather it was the action of professional and personal collaboration. Community building among colleagues was considered to challenge isolationist structures and anticipate new social relations - the ethical heart of both global education and action research.

Utilizing a series of collaborative dialogues with two groups of Alberta teachers over a ten month period, the participants engaged in developing and discussing their personal historical texts through drawn and narrative biography. They also analyzed the text of their own beliefs against selected written texts. The eight women and two men were middle class, from various ethnic roots and countries of origin, and they brought a range of teaching experiences, subject and grade specialities, public and separate school experiences and urban and rural locales to the conversation. One drawn text was the "Tree of Life" that mediated the analysis of their life journeys (Merryfield, 1993). Using the symbol of a tree, the participants drew their significant experiences from family, childhood, schooling and adulthood that contributed to their global consciousness. Visually, one could ascertain the interweaving of the personal and the professional, the young child and the adult, the sense of self and the historical moment, the rootedness in traditions and place and the unsettledness of personal change. One sphere could not be extracted for examination without losing a sense of the whole. This activity powerfully revealed the rich life experience that informed teaching and how little professional development informed living. In these ways, the design of the study sought to maintain fidelity to the principles and pedagogy of transformative global education.

Understanding Global Education - A Theoretical Framework: The study examined the theories that inform the practices of global educators and the Alberta Global Education Project. It found that a wide range of imperatives are invoked by theorists and practitioners in support of global education, resulting in a ambiguous field of study (Werner, 1990). The notion of interdependence, as the organizing concept for global education, arose from the increasing recognition of a global environmental crisis, general failure of international development programs, economic global age and the frustrating complexity and interrelatedness of social issues over the last three decades. As detailed by Toh (1993), the concept of interdependence is understood from two different paradigms of global education. The liberal paradigm concentrates on fostering a liberal appreciation for other cultures and examining global interconnections such as trade, technology, environment and cultural exchange. In subscribing to a management interpretation of interdependence, it advocates for more sophisticated technology and social engineering to ameliorate social inequality and for educating students to ensure a competitive spot in the global information age and to work with global trading partners.

The transformative paradigm in global education advocates empowering learners to critically understand the world's realities in a holistic framework and to take action for a sustainable, just and peaceful world. Utilizing a political-economic analysis, global educators in this paradigm catalyze a critical examination of underlying cultural assumptions and power relations, engage students in perspective-taking, and envision and enact alternatives. It is ethical in that it moves beyond personal or national self-interest to understand the perspectives of others. It problematizes ethnocentrism, exploitation, patriarchy and racism and calls for globally responsible decisions. This paradigm advocates not for better global management but for the transformation of human consciousness, values, and concepts to meet the challenges of the present human and environmental condition. This paradigm best expressed the teachers' aspirations for global education and it is within this paradigm that the research was situated.

Findings: The ten participants defined global education in terms of connectedness, spirituality, community and empowering social action. For them, global education is a spiritual commitment to overcome the disconnectedness of modernity and to recover a sense of history and a purposefulness based on an moral-ethical framework that asks "How ought I live?" and "What is right and just to do in my practice?" Global education is considered a critical moral analysis of the deepest assumptions and values in modern society and their hope for a sustainable and just future. It is to work in community, not in an abstract way, but with their colleagues, locally and globally. Unanimously, they agreed that they aspire toward the transformation paradigm in their teaching and living.

The participants concluded that the Project did not play a role in forming their aspirations for transformative practice. The Project was vital, however, for providing legitimacy for the practice of global education in the school systems, building a sense of connectedness among global educators and for providing the resources and learning opportunities necessary to translate their global perspective into the classroom. While the global education project made no active contribution to the moral-ethical development or politicization[4] of the ten teachers, it was a vehicle for realizing these ethical commitments within their classrooms by enriching their pedagogical skills and offering further learning opportunities. The origin of their social conscience could not be understood through adult transformative learning alone; reflection on childhood formation was necessary.

Four elements emerged as important in contributing to the development of their global consciousness - common family belief systems, recognition of social contradictions, presence of a role model and a cross-cultural experience. All the participants highlighted their early childhood experiences as the vital foundation of their worldview, particularly the pre-school to pre-teen years. Irrespective of social location, all the participants came from families where the values of honesty, respect, kindness, fairness, generosity and service to the community - the common good values - were strongly instilled. Moral-ethical development and conscience formation occurred primarily within the context of the family. As well, each participant had a strong connection to an institutional church as a child through which each came to be aware of and respond to community needs. This was considered by most to be the origin of their social conscience. Early childhood learning of basic social values constitutes the earliest form of political socialization. As Dawson, Prewitt and Dawson assert, one's core social and political identity is embedded in this basic belief system (1977:104). The earliest loyalties and attachments are also formed during childhood as children develop a social category system and differentiate themselves by gender, race, religion, class, language and nationality. These basic identifications and beliefs are the core orientations upon which new orientations are built, and are particularly resistant to change in later life (1977: 80).

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[4] Politicization here means differentiating between and identifying the intersection between the public and private spheres and where your interests lie in relation to your social location.

The participants suggested that as older children, this earliest framework was confounded by the incongruency around them: hearing racist views in church; experiencing a meritocratic school system; being marginalized as a girl or member of a cultural minority; or witnessing economic competition in the community during the day and social cooperation in the evening. One participant summarized that Christian love and the liberal values of democracy, justice and equality were not readily apparent in a competitive and success-oriented world and this began a life of questioning dominant societal messages. Their growth from the pre-critical ethical framework of early childhood toward a critical consciousness was the recognition that the 'ought to be' is not the same as 'the way it is'. The contradictions implicit in liberal ideology became visible to them and they struggled to coherently balance the common good values and the individual good values such as personal fulfillment, success and accumulation which animate a competitive, economic meritocracy (Bellah, Madsen, Sullivan, Swidler & Tipton, 1985).

An awareness of choices between these value frameworks was influenced by the presence of a mentor or role model, usually an extended family member or teacher/professor. These role models were conscientious objectors, social activists, or those who travelled or worked internationally. In the case of teachers or professors, they provided critical thinking frameworks that enabled intellectual explorations and catalyzed consideration of future goals. These role models provided a safe space for doubts and treated the young people as equals, irrespective of their age, gender or race. The mentors challenged their world view, believed in their abilities and validated their self-worth. Most of these role models entered their lives during adolescence and in young adulthood which also intersected with the peace movement, student activism and Quebec Quiet Revolution of the 1960's and 1970's. Consistent with these findings, Dawson et al. suggest that the capacity for ideological thinking develops during adolescence. Adolescence is also the time when discontinuities are most likely to occur in the flow of messages from the primary agents of socialization. While the core identity is unlikely to change, the specific political decisions and involvements of young people may differ from their families through the influence of significant others. The anticipated social and economic adult roles can also lead to a time of exploration and provisional changes in political awareness and thinking (1977:84-85).

For most participants, a major discontinuity was a cross-cultural exposure experience in young adulthood. Whether in Canada - in First Nations communities or among street youth - or in 'developing' countries, most of the participants engaged in sustained interactions with people whose values and lifestyles were substantially different from their own. Particularly if they were exposed to people living in poverty, the questions "Why is this happening?" and "How can I live so that I do not contribute to someone else's pain?" prompted the search for more complex societal understandings and enhanced the growth of a critical ethical framework. In seeing a reality that did not fit into their existing frame and in taking on the perspective of people with different understandings, an ideological suspicion was heightened. The participants re-assessed their materialistic values, developed a consciousness of class privilege and probed dominant cultural assumptions. From these factors, then, the participants concluded that their "*worldview was broadened, their eyes opened, that they were awakened or transformed.*" After this crosscultural experience, the participants gravitated towards people, books and organizations - for women's rights, environmental action, peace education, or social justice - that offered new role models, a safe environment to express uncertainties and a chance to intellectually reformulate their worldview. Their lives evidenced changes detailed elsewhere: lifestyle and consumer changes, professional changes, relationship changes and changes in spirituality (Lange Christensen, 1995).

In examining the interaction among these four elements, the childhood moral-ethical framework was not transformed in the sense of being fundamentally changed or discarded. It was still the guiding marker for their living and a core element of their identity and ontological purpose. Rather the shift in their core moral-ethical framework was its extension from a localized, individualized understanding to a broader, more complex societal understanding: from fairness on the playground to international economic justice; from Christian kindness to anti-racist work; from local charity to letters demanding changes in international aid policies. From a convergence of lived dilemmas emanating from ideological contradictions, the participants sought to integrate their specific political commitments with their core value system, giving precedence to the common good values. These new commitments were the inspiration to engage in transformative learning with their students and in collaboration with their colleagues. It was also the impetus for their connection with the global education project.

The desire to practice transformative global education is founded on a moral-ethical response to the question, "How can I live out the common good values in my classroom?" The teachers identified the gaps between their actual practices in the liberal paradigm and their intended transformative practice and felt some efficacy in closing that gap. Yet, the ideological contradictions over the contested purpose of schooling - between the selection and stratification for the economic sphere and the reproduction of the democratic and citizenship values for the political sphere - was considered a central constraint for transformative practice. A corollary of this issue is the institutional expectation that they formally suspend their moral-ethical thinking to carry out a value-neutral inquiry into social issues when implicit in their global education commitments are specific criteria for ethical judgements, such as sustainability, justice and democracy. Their practice was also compromised through other daily pressures such as isolation from colleagues, fragmented and technicist knowledge, funding and staff cuts, increasing standardization and institutional conformity. These constraints and conflicting societal visions for schooling became individual dilemmas and contributed to self-blame, anger and burn-out among these educators (Britzman, 1991).

To support existing global educators in their desire to practice transformative global education and to reach out to other Alberta teachers, the study concluded that the research question needs to be reframed; from asking "How can the Project be more effective in enabling more teachers to become committed to global education?" to asking, "How can we accompany adult learners in their search for professional and personal meaning that compels them to ask broader and deeper questions about the relationship between themselves and the world?" Rethinking professional development in this way more closely approximates transformative global education by linking daily issues with global dynamics and respects the core identities that teachers bring to their practice. Teachers need to have a collaborative space in which to excavate their theories-in-use but also to make a critical inquiry of institutional constraints and moral-ethical engagement a normal part of teacher discourse. The collaborative action methodology employed for this research illustrated that within intentional community building, where the professional and the personal is bridged, a conversation can take place to ultimately challenge the conformist, isolationist and de-personalized structure of teaching.

Implications and Conclusion: While finding that a global consciousness originates in early political socialization and in identifying a number of other factors that contributed to the development of a critical ethical framework, this research has not been able to fully explain this constellation of factors. Hence, the following questions are raised for further inquiry: Why did these particular individuals become committed to common good values when their siblings and others with similar life experiences did not? What are the implications for adult transformative learning if the core identity is formed early in childhood and is highly resistant to change? If moral-ethical formation occurs in early childhood to early adulthood, what are the implications for the purpose of schooling particularly as it becomes increasingly oriented to technical skills and instrumentalized relations? What are the dynamics of ideology in schools and in society that can create spaces for the ethical-moral discourse and practice of teachers? And finally, do institutionalized educational and social movements hinder depth of critique and freedom of action? Researching these questions would further enhance an understanding of the development of a global consciousness and the role of professional development in adult transformative learning.

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USING CLUSTER ANALYSIS IN ADULT EDUCATION

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Abstract
Cluster analysis is a powerful multi variate tool available to adult educators for inductively identifying groups which inherently exist in the data. Its power lies in its ability to examine the person in a holistic manner rather than as a set of unrelated variables. Once clusters are identified, other qualitative and quantitative techniques should be used to help name and describe the clusters.

Introduction

Learning and education are complicated human activities. As researchers seek to create new knowledge in the social sciences, they are confronted with a complex array of variables that may be affecting the learning process. For much of the period since World War II, educational researchers have accepted the assumptions of positivism that a single reality exists which consists of variables that can be identified, isolated, measured, and statistically manipulated (Guba, 1978). Unfortunately, such an approach tends to artificially simplify the complex human activity of learning. As a reaction against this approach which tends to break people up into isolated parts, there is a growing trend toward designs which view the learner holistically. This broader and more integrated approach is accomplished by using designs which incorporate qualitative data gathering or which utilize multi variate quantitative procedures. Both of these data gathering strategies rely on the phenomenological assumption of a multiple reality which can be best understood by a triangulation of data sources.

When attempting to make sense of a data set and to give it meaning, researchers can either take a deductive or an inductive approach. With the deductive approach, researchers impose sense upon the data by asking questions of the data that are meaningful to the researcher and which the researchers bring to the study based upon their knowledge, experience, and intuition. Multi variate statistical procedures such as discriminant analysis (Conti, 1993; Klecka, 1980) allow the researcher to function in the psychological mode by dividing learners into predetermined groups to examine if this categorization produces the differences which were hypothesized. With the inductive approach, researchers function more in a sociological mode. Here the issue is how to tease sense out of the data. Rather than imposing sense upon the data, the goal is to have meaning and understanding emanate from the data itself.

One useful statistical procedure to "discover structure in data that is not readily apparent by visual inspection or by appeal to other authority" (Aldenderfer & Blashfield, 1984, p. 16) is cluster analysis. Although the concept of the classification of objects into meaningful sets is an important procedure which is widely used in all of the social sciences, "cluster analysis as a formal, multi variate statistical procedure is poorly understood" (p. 5). This is partially due to the fact that many of the techniques for clustering have only existed since the mid-1960's (pp. 5-8) and have only recently been developed because of the "availability of computers to carry out the frequently awesome calculations involved" (p. 5).

In the past decade, the field of adult education has increased its sociological emphasis. Moving away from the field's psychological bent which stressed the administrative concern of participation in formal programs (Dale & Conti, 1992), award-winning books by Smith (1982), Brookfield (1986), and Jarvis (1987) have helped redirect the field on the course set by Kidd (1973) with the focus on the learner (Fellenz & Conti, 1989, p. 1). Although only a few adult educators such as Beder (1990) and Conti and Fellenz (1989) have published articles using cluster analysis, this statistical technique is potentially a powerful tool for analyzing data from studies which ask research questions from the sociological perspective. In today's society with multiple, diverse populations which adult educators seek to serve, "although both cluster analysis and discriminant analysis classify objects or cases into categories, discriminant analysis requires you to know group membership for the cases used to derive the classification rule....In cluster analysis, group membership for all cases is unknown. In fact, even the number of groups is unknown" (Norusis, 1988, p. B-71).

Cluster Analysis

Cluster analysis is a multi variate statistical procedure that seeks to identify homogeneous groups or clusters (Aldenderfer & Blashfield, 1984, Chapter 1; Norusis, 1988, p. B-71). Unlike univariate techniques which investigate a single variable in isolation, cluster analysis examines the person as a whole; all variables are kept together for the individual and analyzed in relationship to each other. "A commonly used method for forming clusters is hierarchical cluster analysis....In **agglomerative** hierarchical clustering, clusters are formed by grouping cases into bigger and bigger clusters until all cases are members of a single cluster" (Norusis, 1988, p. B-73). In forming clusters using an agglomerative process, the computer goes through four procedures: (1) Computes the proximities between the individual cases, (2) combines the two nearest clusters to form a new cluster, (3) recomputes the proximities between existing clusters and the new cluster, and (4) returns to the second step until all cases have been combined into one cluster (SPSS, 1988, p. 405).

> Consider what happens during the steps of agglomerative hierarchical cluster analysis. At the first step all cases are considered separate clusters: there are as many clusters as there are cases. At the second step, two of the cases are combined into a single cluster. At the third step, either a third case is added to the cluster already containing two cases, or two additional cases are merged into a new cluster. At every step, either individual cases are added to clusters or already existing clusters are combined. Once a cluster is formed, it cannot be split; it can only be combined with other clusters. Thus, hierarchical clustering methods do not allow cases to separate from clusters to which they have been allocated. (Norusis, 1988, p. B-73)

Thus, "most cluster analysis methods are relatively simple procedures that in most cases, are not supported by an extensive body of statistical reasoning....It is important to recognize the fundamental simplicity of these methods" (Aldenderfer & Blashfield, 1984, p. 14).

Before running the actual analysis, the researcher must decide upon (1) which variables to use for the cluster formation, (2) how distance between the cases will be measured, and (3) what criteria will be used for combining cases into clusters (Norusis, 1988, p. B-71). "The choice of variables to be used with cluster analysis is one of the most critical steps in the research process....Ideally, variables should be chosen within the context of an explicitly stated theory that is used to support the classification" (Aldenderfer & Blashfield, 1984, pp 19-20). Needless to say, the quality of the analysis is dependent upon including significant variables that may inherently have an influence upon the natural groupings which are being sought to be uncovered; "in cluster analysis, the initial choice of variables determines the characteristics that can be used to identify subgroups" (p. B-72). However, to be included in the analysis, the data must be in a form in which means can be calculated on the variables.

There are several methods for determining how distances between cases will be measured. These methods take into consideration the concepts of distance and similarity. Distance relates to how far apart two cases are while similarity measures the closeness of the cases. "Distance measures are small and similarity measures are large for cases that are similar" (p. B-72). These concepts are important to cluster analysis because cases are grouped according to their similarity with other cases. Although there are four types of similarity measures, "only correlation and distance coefficients have had widespread use in the social sciences" (Aldenderfer & Blashfield, 1984, p. 22). "A commonly used index is the **squared Euclidean distance**, which is the sum of the squared differences over all of the variables" (Norusis, 1988, p. B-72).

There are also several methods for determining how cases will be combined into clusters. These methods differ in how they estimate the distances between clusters at each successive step in the procedure. Since the distance measures are the criteria that are used to merge cases at each step, "different clustering methods can and do generate different solutions to the same data set" (Aldenderfer & Blashfield, 1984, p. 15). While several methods of linking cases have been proposed (Aldenderfer & Blashfield, 1984, p. 38; Norusis, 1988, p. B-83), the Ward's method has been widely used in the social sciences (Aldenderfer & Blashfield, 1984, p. 43).

The primary printout from a cluster analysis is an agglomeration schedule. This listing summarizes the analysis and identifies the number of cases or clusters which were combined at each stage of the analysis. For each stage, the squared Euclidean distance for the two combined clusters is reported as a "coefficient." Small coefficients indicate that fairly homogeneous clusters have been merged at that stage; large coefficients indicated that clusters containing quite dissimilar members have been combined (Norusis, 1988, p. B-77). The task of the researcher is to determine the optimal number of clusters that are the best solution for the data. While there are several potential methods for determining the number of clusters (Aldenderfer & Blashfield, 1984, pp. 53-58), a commonly used method is "to stop agglomeration as soon as the increase between two adjacent steps becomes large" (Norusis, 1988, p. B-78).

Quick Cluster Procedures

One of the major problems encountered in running cluster analysis is that the memory requirements for computer storage increase rapidly with the number of cases. To overcome this problem, SPSS has developed a procedure called Quick Cluster for both its personal computer and mainframe versions of its statistical package. Quick Cluster allows the researcher "to cluster a large number of cases efficiently without requiring substantial computer resources" (Norusis, 1988, p. B-91). This efficiency is gained by the researcher requesting the number of clusters desired. Instead of producing a series of solutions for various numbers of clusters, this procedure first selects initial cluster centers for the designated number of clusters, then continuously updates the cluster centers as new cases are added, and finally in its last step reassigns each case to the nearest of the updated cluster centers (SPSS, 1988, p. 841).

Thus, instead of running a standard cluster analysis which is time consuming and which may be beyond the memory capacity of the computer, the researcher can more efficiently run a series of Quick Cluster analyses for various cluster solutions. However, unlike a standard hierarchical clustering procedure which does not allow cases to change clusters once they have been classified into a cluster, the movement of cases to different clusters is possible with a series of Quick Cluster analyses because each analysis is independent of the others. To check on the stability of the clusters across such a series of analyses, data from a learning strategies study (Hays, 1995) were examined. Using the learning strategy variables of the 96 cases from this data set, Quick Cluster was used to generate a 4-cluster and a 5-cluster solution. Since the 5-cluster solution had one more cluster than the 4-cluster solution, the 10 cases in this cluster were eliminated from further analysis because they did not have any chance of matching an equal cluster in the 4-cluster solution. Once both solutions had an equal number of clusters, a correlation was run to determine if cases tended to be placed in the same cluster in each of these independent Quick Cluster analyses. The correlation between the two analyses was .95; 74 of the 86 cases were in the same cluster in both of the independent Quick Cluster analyses. While the numbering of the clusters may change through the independent series of analyses, overwhelmingly the people stay in the same groups. Thus, it is possible to accurately use Quick Cluster with changing group sizes to quickly and efficiently calculate cluster analyses.

Interpreting the Clusters

One of the most exciting parts of multi variate data analysis is giving meaning to the statistical results. Unlike univariate analysis in which a simple value is produced which can easily be interpreted by predetermined rules, multi variate analysis involves the interaction of many variables, and the meaning of this interaction is not always immediately clear. Indeed, "the key to using cluster analysis is knowing when these groups are 'real' and not merely imposed on the data by the method" (Aldenderfer & Blashfield, 1984, p. 16).

While cluster analysis is a powerful method for identifying groups, additional information is needed to better gain insight into the true meaning of the clusters and to name and describe them. Through a series of learning strategies studies in Montana (Conti & Fellenz, 1989; Conti & Kolody, 1995; Hays, 1995; Kolody & Conti, 1996; Strakal, 1995; Yabui, 1993), a triangulation process has been developed for interpreting cluster compositions. This process involves using the existing quantitative data and gathering additional qualitative data.

Analysis of variance is a useful tool for determining which variables are related to each cluster and for determining how the variables are associated with the cluster. When the cluster analysis is run, the cluster number for each case should be saved in a system file (outfile) which will be used in further analyses. Once the solution for the exact number of clusters has been resolved, the cluster numbers for that solution can be used to determine if the clusters differ significantly on each of the variables. For those variables in which a difference is found due to the grouping of the people in the clusters, post hoc tests can be run to identify how the groups differ. Salient elements highlighted by this analysis can be assigned to the groups as distinctive characteristics that should be taken into consideration in describing and naming the clusters.

Unfortunately, this process only provides insights into the numeric data and does not provide additional material for a rich description of the clusters. To achieve this, supplementary data is needed. This data can be secured through individual interviews or focus groups with representative learners from the various clusters. Insights from the quantitative data analysis can be used as a guide for planning the protocol for the interviewing sessions (Strakal, 1995, pp. 189-197). The qualitative data gathered through this process should be combined with the quantitative data, and together this expanded data source can provide a more comprehensive and accurate description of the clusters.

The final data analysis technique that can be used to assist with the interpretation of the meaning of the clusters is discriminant analysis. Although it is not statistically appropriate as a means of validating the cluster structure (Aldenderfer & Blashfield, 1984, pp. 64-65), discriminant analysis is a useful tool for identifying the **process** that separates the clusters and therefore for helping to describe the clusters. By using the various clusters as the groups and by using the variables from the cluster analysis as the set of discriminating variables, an analysis can be generated which produces a structure matrix which describes the process that separates the various clusters into distinct groups and which yields a discriminant function that is a formula that can use used for predicting placement in the various clusters.

Summary: Cluster analysis is a powerful [illegible]i variate tool for inductively making sense of quantitative data. Its power lies in its ability to examine the person in a holistic manner rather than as a set of unrelated variables. Cluster analysis can be used to identify groups which inherently exist in the data. The process is relatively easy to run with modern statistical packages. However, because the process requires much computer memory, the most efficient method of running such an analysis may be by conducting a series of analyses with a program such as Quick Cluster.

The challenging and exciting portion of conducting a cluster analysis is in naming and describing the clusters that are produced by the statistical analysis. In order to do this in an insightful way, more information is needed. This information can be secured through additional statistical analyses utilizing analysis of variance techniques and discriminant analysis and by gathering supplementary data through qualitative techniques.

Adult educators have not yet begun to make extensive use of this relatively new statistical procedure. However, as the those in the field continue to view events from a sociological perspective, cluster analysis offers great potential as a research tool for researchers searching for more integrated, multi variate, and holistic answers to research questions than those provided by past research techniques.

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THE CENTRALITY OF MEANING-MAKING IN TRANSFORMATIONAL LEARNING: HOW HIV POSITIVE ADULTS MAKE SENSE OF THEIR LIVES

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Abstract: The meaning-making process, so central to transformational learning, is not well delineated in the literature. The purpose of this study was to understand how meaning is constructed in the lives of those diagnosed as HIV positive. Data analyzed from interviews with 18 men and women revealed that after an initial reaction period, a catalytic experience sets in motion a three-phase process of reflection and activity.

Introduction: Adult learning is a multi-faceted phenomenon that defies simple descriptions or theorizing. It can include something as straightforward as memorizing a set of facts or developing a new skill, or as complex as a transformation of one's personality or worldview. This latter type of learning, known as transformative or transformational learning, "produces more far-reaching changes in the learners than does learning in general, and...these changes have a significant impact on the learner's subsequent experiences. In short, transformational learning shapes people; they are different afterward, in ways both they and others can recognize" (Clark, 1993, p. 47). Transformational learning then, is about more than a change in one's stock of knowledge, range of behavior, skills, or attitudes; it is about fundamental change in the self.

The central mechanism of transformational learning--what lies at the heart of the process--is meaning-making. "To make meaning means to make sense of an experience...[to] make an interpretation of it" (Mezirow, 1990, p. 1). Meaning-making related to everyday learning can be distinguished from meaning-making in transformative learning as follows: "Normally, when we learn something, we attribute an old meaning to a new experience....In transformative learning, however, we reinterpret an old experience (or a new one) from a new set of expectations" (Mezirow, 1991, p. 11). Meaning-making is also a key concept in several other transformational learning theorists' work (Daloz, 1986; Freire, 1970; Kegan, 1994).

While meaning-making is recognized as central to the transformational learning process, little is known about how people actually make sense out of a contextualized life experience. How, exactly, is meaning restructured such that one's sense of self, one's worldview or perspective becomes transformed? To explore the process of meaning-making, it was reasoned that persons confronted with a potentially terminal condition would be engaged in the struggle to make meaning/sense out of the knowledge. Further, it was believed that this meaning-making would assume a particular urgency if the diagnosis meant that one's life might end at an unnaturally early age. The purpose of this study, then, was to understand how meaning is constructed in the lives of those diagnosed as HIV positive.

Relevant Literature: The literature on adult and transformational learning, adult development, and counseling literature related to transitions, coping, and grief were reviewed to inform this study of meaning-making. Discussions of the process of meaning-making were of particular interest, although few explicit descriptions were uncovered.

Several writers delineate the relationship between meaning-making, learning, and development. Daloz (1986), for example, writes that "we develop by progressively taking apart and putting together the structures that give our lives meaning" (p. 236). Mezirow (1990, p. 1) defines learning as "the process of making a new or revised interpretation of the meaning of an experience" (1990, p. 1). If our current meaning perspective cannot accommodate or make meaning of the experience, through critical reflection we can change our perspective. The ten-step process involved in a perspective transformation begins with a disorienting dilemma which leads to a self-examination and assessment of assumptions, followed by exploring new roles, and concludes with "a reintegration into one's life on the basis of conditions dictated by one's new perspective" (1991, pp. 169). In a review of empirical studies of Mezirow's theory, Taylor (1995, p. 317) notes that "questions still remain about the order and the interrelationship of the different factors."

The counseling literature focusing on coping and adaptation, life transitions, and grief also offers some insights into the process dimension of meaning-making. Brammer and Abrego (1981) write that transitions are events that require the individual to "develop new assumptions or behavior responses" (p. 19). They propose a seven-stage process, stage six of which is labeled "search for meaning"; however, little description is given of this stage. Weenolsen (1988) equates the process of loss and transcendence with meaning-making and outlines the four-phase process of grieving, searching, replacement and integration. Finally, Janoff-Bulman's (1992) found that victims of traumatic events made sense out of their experience through reinterpreting three fundamental assumptions about life: the world is benevolent, the world is meaningful, and the self is worthy.

Method: This study employed a qualitative design to study the centrality of meaning-making in transformational learning for HIV positive adults. The sample selection of 18 respondents was purposive. Volunteers were sought from four community-based organizations that serve the HIV/AIDS population in Atlanta, Georgia. Respondents selected were 45 years or younger in age (one exception) and had a CD4 cell (T-cell) count of 500 or less. Restricting participation on the basis of age enabled the researchers to explore the existence of a relationship between meaning-making and the possibility of a shortened life span. A CD4 cell count of 500 or less signifies a compromised immune system, rendering it difficult to remain in denial about the presence of the virus. The final sample consisted of nine men and nine women ranging in age from to (one male as age 57). Eleven are Caucasian, six are African American, and one is Hispanic. The amount of time since diagnosis ranged from 18 months to 13 years. Level of educational attainment spans Grade 10 to Masters Degree. Nine are currently employed. A semistructured interview format was used and areas explored included coping, psychosocial development, and meaning-making. Data were analyzed inductively using the constant comparative method (Glaser & Strauss, 1967).

Findings: The meaning-making process described by the respondents involves an inaugural period of reacting to the diagnosis, a catalyst which helps them break out of the initial reaction, and three phases of reflection and activity.

There is an **Initial Reaction** to being diagnosed HIV-positive that is characterized by cognitive, affective, and behavioral responses. The nature of the cognitive responses to the HIV positive diagnosis is characterized by shock or mental numbness, thoughts of being dead in six months to two years, and visions of committing suicide. Pat's comment reflects how respondents froze cognitively: "I think I went kind of blank." John concurs: "It couldn't be....my world went upset down at that moment...I was dazed." Other respondents, like Steve, report that in addition to shock, their first thoughts were of impending death: "I really read it as a death sentence." As might be expected, knowledge that one has a life-threatening disease prompts tremendous emotional responses. Elise expressed her feelings of anger at God and the person who infected her. Kenneth and Jamie both explained how the news brought on depression. Not only were there cognitive and affective reactions to their diagnosis, some also responded with immediate action. The range of behaviors was from verbal outbursts, to engaging in heavy drug use and sexual promiscuity, to isolation, to simply doing what had to be done. For example, Ben "didn't do anything constructive in those two years except party because I didn't know what else to do." Scott's experience, although a bit dramatic, is a good example of talking as an immediate response: "I told everybody. I couldn't stop telling everybody. Because it was, 'Oh my God, wait till you hear this! Whatever you have on your day's agenda, I have beat you. I have got the news of the day.'"

The respondents varied in the length of time they remained in the initial reaction stage from six months to five years before making a significant change in their thinking and activities. The **Catalytic Experience** that helped the individuals in this study begin to view their diagnosis in a new way and make decisions about how to live was either an external or internal event.

Close friends often served as agents for helping the respondents break the initial response pattern to their diagnosis. Jamie had a girl friend who "came over and let herself into my house and literally grabbed--I was asleep--and grabbed me and yanked me out of the bed. I hit the floor and she started kicking me and hitting me. And I was like, 'What are you doing? Stop it. Can't you see I'm sick?' And she said, 'Do you want to die, just lay there and I'll kick you to death right now, and if you don't want to die then get up and live'.... And it just clicked and I said, 'That's right; you know that's the answer.' That was the real turning point for me. When I realized that death was easy and anybody can do it; everybody's gonna do it. Living life well isn't something that everybody does. And so I just made up my mind that day that living life well is what I wanted to do."

Catalysts that are internal in nature include such occurrences as a decline in health, the awareness that there is no other alternative but to make a change in life, or the decision to commit one's life to an external and perceptibly stronger source. The use of prayer is a specific example of how Myrna realized that she had to appeal to something beyond herself to move on with her life: "I remembered there is God. There is another person there that loves me no matter what and I got on my knees and I asked God for a way out. I just prayed on it." Joe and Dawn confessed that a decline in their health forced them to face the reality of the disease and that they must deal with it. Kenneth, like several others, responded to his diagnosis by increasing his alcohol and drug intake to the extent that he realized he was on a path to self-destruction. Eventually, "I just got to a point where I just surrendered. I just said, you know, I'm tired. I didn't have the nerve to kill myself, so I just got tired and I just turned my whole life over."

The catalytic events helped the respondents "sit face to face squarely with [their] demons," acknowledge and accept them, and encouraged them to enter **Phase I** of the meaning-making process, **Exploration and Experimentation**. This is the phase where respondents examine their views about self, others, and their role in the world. It is also the phase in which HIV-positive individuals make tentative adjustments in their thinking and activities as a result of their reflection about their views. The three properties that constitute this phase are *Taking Stock*, *Making Adjustments in Perception*, and *Making Adjustments in Activities*.

Every respondent reported that their catalytic experience encouraged them to examine their identity and their role in life. They asked themselves such questions as "Who am I?" "Why am I here?" and "What are the important priorities in life?" John's experience is a good example of this internal investigation: "What it enabled me to do was to really look at my life and decide what it is that I wanted to do and then go do it."

Taking stock helps facilitate the next property in this phase, *Making Adjustments in Perception*, because the questions asked of the self challenge the individual's perceptions. For example, Pat's catalytic experience led her to realize "that it's not a curse; I had to change my thinking, you know, from a negative to a positive where now, this is my journey, this is my life." But the most frequently mentioned change was how the respondents perceived other people and their role in relating to other people. To redirect their lives so that they can be of help to other people was a critical change for the respondents. Steve's reflections led him to conclude that "we're here to heal each other and to love and I believe that." Complementing the revisions in perceptions was the process of *Making Adjustments in Activities*. These changes were exploratory in nature, the sample members trying them out to confirm their helpfulness. Many respondents changed residence--as an adventure, to escape to a quieter life, or to locate nearer to the support of social services, family, or friends. Other transitions in activities included enrolling in college, making a career change, and attending Alcohol Anonymous or Narcotics Anonymous meetings.

The questioning, reflection, and transitions in perception and activity are extended and reinforced in the second phase of meaning-making when activities that are specifically HIV in nature become paramount. **Phase II - Consolidation of New Meaning** refers to the further assimilation of the adjustments made in perceptions and activities in the previous phase. This is not to suggest that sample members abandoned their involvement in non-HIV-related activities. Some continued their full-time employment, others kept up volunteer work in community and church groups, and others made frequent pleasure trips. But in Phase II, respondents realized the important value of engaging in activities that helped other HIV-positive individuals. That awareness was consistent with the newly discovered perception that one's new role is to be of service to other people. Dawn points to the importance of her getting an AIDS project funded: Starting [this project], more than any other single thing in my life...made me feel like I'm doing what I'm supposed to be doing...all the other stuff makes sense to me right now. Everything in my life makes sense to me, the bad things and the good things."

The actual meaning of being infected by HIV comprises **Phase III - Stabilization of the New Perspective**. In this phase, HIV-positive individuals assimilate their new perceptions and articulate the meaning of having a life-threatening disease. There are at least three properties associated with the meaning of the HIV diagnosis. First, all the respondents concluded that what happened to them makes sense because it provides *an opportunity for them to make a contribution to life*. As Ben pointed out, "there's a reason for me to be here for however long it is, there's a purpose." Realizing that they are one of many parts of the universe precipitates the second property of the meaning HIV-positive individuals make of their infection, *a heightened sensitivity to and deep appreciation for life and for other people*. Comments like "I don't take life for granted anymore" or Steve's observation that "happiness comes from family and it comes from driving these streets again and seeing these trees and seeing the seasons and seeing the leaves turn," reflect the respondents' understanding of the importance of all life. The third property in the meaning HIV-positive individuals make of their lives involves *service to other people*. Pat described her life as a journey which "now, is to help other people." Steve says, "I want to just hold a candle to where maybe somebody two steps behind me can make it to that point and then perhaps go a couple more steps if I can't go."

Discussion: The purpose of this study was to understand the meaning-making process in transformational learning. Our sample consisted of those who are HIV positive because we reasoned that people confronted with a potentially terminal illness would evidence a particular urgency to "make sense" out of their lives. Our research presents an explicitly delineated, contextualized description of the meaning-making process that advances our understanding of transformational learning. Specifically, we describe (1) a period of initial reaction, (2) a catalytic experience that sets in motion the meaning-making process, and (3) three distinct, yet interrelated phases of reflection and activity.

The initial reaction period lasted from six months to five years and was characterized by cognitive, affective, and behavioral responses. While transformational learning models recognize an early period of "inner discomfort and perplexity" (Brookfield, 1987, p. 26), or "internal conflict" (Mezirow, 1991, p. 143), such a reaction is presented as largely cognitive and non-specific to the particular event. Likewise, the life event, counseling, and grief literature note highly emotional reactions such as shock, denial and depression (Brammer & Abrego, 1981), yearning for what is lost (Weenolsen, 1988), and denial, anger, bargaining, and depression (Kubler-Ross, 1970). Overall, we were somewhat surprised by the length of time of this reaction, especially given the life-threatening nature of the event. Nevertheless, by anchoring our study in the specific context of being diagnosed HIV positive, we were able to uncover the multi-dimensional nature of the initial reaction phase.

The catalytic experience refers to an event, either external or internal that instigates movement out beyond the initial reaction; the catalytic experience is that which allows one to get "unstuck," to be able to get beyond the paralyzing effects of the initial reaction. It is the catalytic experience which sets the meaning-making process in motion. Nowhere in the literature is such a mechanism so explicitly delineated. Rather, significant others such as family members, friends, mentors, counselors and so on are mentioned as important to supporting an individual who is making meaning of an event or negotiating a transition (Daloz, 1986; Janoff-Bulman, 1992; Schlossberg, 1995). Rather than a climate of support, our study found that it is the support systems of family and friends and support groups from which the specific catalytic experience originates. But we also found that some catalytic experiences were more internal in nature, such as a decline in health, seeing no other alternative to changing the meaning system except death, or a spiritual awakening.

The three-phase process of meaning-making uncovered in this study gives us a richer, more detailed description of how meaning-making actually happens than is evidenced in the literature. While most models make reference to an exploratory, tentative component ("provisional trying on of new roles" in Mezirow's 10 step process, for example), we found three dimensions to this first phase. Taking stock of beliefs and priorities, adjustments in perceptions, and adjustments in activities describe this beginning phase. In the second phase of consolidation, the tentativeness associated with the trying on of the new in the previous phase diminishes as the comfort level with the new way of thinking and acting increases. The third phase is the actual "sense" respondents made of being HIV positive. This sense involves making a contribution, a heightened sensitivity to life and people, and being of service. The description of this phase of meaning-making closest to ours was found in Janoff-Bulman's (1992) study of trauma survivors who "often transform the trauma into altruistic acts that provide some basis for meaning and values in their lives. Rape victims may work at rape crisis centers, and AIDS victims may work helping others diagnosed with the disease" (p. 139).

While our sample of HIV positive respondents allowed us to contextualize the meaning-making process, we have to also ask whether our findings are unique to this population. Certainly the fact that our participants were selected from community-based organizations that provide services for HIV/AIDS, may account for the particular characteristics of Phase III, the new perspective. However, the similarities between our findings and those of Janoff-Bullman's suggest that, at the minimum, the meaning-making process we uncovered is a likely response to events that threaten one's survival. We could also argue though, that it is only by looking at a life-threatening situation that the fundamental or essential components of the meaning-making process would be revealed. Whether these same components are present when meaning-making is precipitated by events that are not life-threatening remains to be investigated.

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KNOWLEDGE AND SELF--ADULT LEARNERS' CONCEPTIONS OF LEARNING IMPLICATIONS FOR TEACHING IN HIGHER EDUCATION

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Abstract. Reforming teaching in higher education will mean in part, understanding more about the learning process as it occurs within and outside the existential domain of the classroom. This study seeks to contribute to that understanding by focusing on the meaning that students attach to the term learning. Over a five-year period graduate students at a large Midwestern university completed an open ended instrument, the Learning Questionnaire. Analysis of data yielded two major conceptions of learning. These conceptions and their implications for the teaching process will be explored in this presentation.

Learning is a constructive process. . .Students have notions of the subject matter before entering the class. They hold views about the learning process, what they think is involved in learning, what appeals to them in the learning process, and the kind of learning in which they have done well or will do well.

Wilbur McKeachie (1988, p. 10)

Over a five-year period, I asked adult students in a graduate course on learning theory to say something about what learning means to them, how best they learn, and what have been effective learning experiences for them in the past. My purpose in asking these questions was to have students think about what it means to learn, even as they and I engaged with the academic literature on the subject. My focus here is on learners' conceptions of learning based on responses to a series of questions which probed their definitions of learning, the meaning or significance they attach to the term and the qualities they associate with model learners.

My intent here is not to inquire as to the "ways that [real] people really learn" (Race, 1994), but to ask what does learning as an idea, concept, process, reality or whatever, mean to people, students in this instance, but students with a difference. These are all adults and all, for the most part, are involved with professions, look after families, participate in community activities, and generally see themselves building a successful life as average and not so average Americans. The choice of context here was deliberate. While much of the recent literature (e.g., the work on situated cognition) points to the significant ways we learn outside of schools and classrooms, a literature bolstered by years of advocacy from adult educators, my chief interest lay in considering ways in which the meaning of learning for ordinary learners (Lave's "just plain folks") can be translated into more effective classroom practices.

Design and Analysis

From 1990 through 1995, some 100 students completed an instrument titled the "Learning Questionnaire", on the knowledge that it was to feature in class discussion and in a graded assignment; an autobiography of learning and motivation. The population consisted mostly of female students (at least 75% on average)--a typical scenario for graduate classes in academic adult education--many employed in some professional capacity, e.g., director of nursing education at a local hospital, manager of data processing in a business organization, and so forth. The class was a mix of masters and doctoral students. While use of the term "conceptions" was intended to link the analysis to the work of Maroon, Pratt, and others, I did not see myself "doing" a phenomenography as such. I ended up conducting an analysis which is somewhere between the former, content analysis and the "open coding" process associated with Grounded Theory (e.g. Courtney, Jha, & Babchuk, 1994).

CONCEPTIONS OF LEARNING

A pass through the data as a whole, supplemented by detailed analyses of several of the questions[1], reveals two basic conceptions of learning. One links learning to knowledge. Under this conception, learning is a process (rather than a product) which happens inside and outside of the individual but almost always involves experiences. As a process of acquiring knowledge, learning may be applied or may be experienced as something valuable in its own right. The second links learning to the self. Under this conception, learning provides the framework within which the learner acts and makes sense of his/her own world. It does this by promoting personal growth, symbolizing accomplishment or equipping the learner with the tools she/he needs to effect control in the everyday world.

A. LEARNING AND KNOWLEDGE

Learning is a process. . . .

Learning, at its core, suggests a set of actions or occurrences; a duration of time in which the learner engages with the idea of knowledge and moves from novice to expert. It may be a "continuing", "ongoing", even "lifelong experience" or "pursuit"[2] in that it covers not merely the knowing associated with a single domain of knowledge, but an orientation to life itself as a process of inquiry.

. . . .which is inside and out. . . .

What kind of process is it? What are you doing when you are learning? It is a process of "thought", of "seeking and understanding", of "reflection applied to previous experience or knowledge". Thus, it is something inside the person, something which goes on as thoughts and ideas. It is also something external, a process of "talking, listening, feedback, action and more feedback". Though many of the definitions of learning suggest implicitly that it is a conscious process, it "may be . . . a happened upon experience". Whether internal or external, the process may be a conscious, deliberate calling to mind of something, or it may be unconscious, an aspect of an informalized experience in which other activities, including work, form the centerpiece of consciousness, as when the learner discovers, "Hey, I just learned something," though that was not the original intent.

. . . but almost always involves experience.

Whether a conscious doing or unconscious happening, learning almost always "involves experiences", "active engagement", and "action" or "interactive process involving individual to [sic] knowledge or information". Experiences form the backdrop or "stuff" from which learning is distilled. "To define learning I start with experiences". Significantly, while learning may start with, and derive from, experience, it is also, at some level, an experience in

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[1] Responses to: What has learning meant in your life? How would you define learning? What comes to mind when you think of learning something or a learning experience? Are there people you consider to be model learners? What makes them like that?

[2] All phrases and statements in quotes reflect the verbatim responses of the study participants unless otherwise indicated.

its own right: "Learning is not necessarily gaining new data, but is a higher level experience which addresses who I am and the meaning of my existence". Nor is it something which must follow immediately from experience, though experience is key to the
learning which takes place. It may be an "ability to recall an experience (real or imagined); being able to relate to others".

Learning is a process of acquiring knowledge. . .
The learners in this sample mostly stressed learning as the acquisition of knowledge: to "acquire/gain/add more/additional information . . .on a subject that is familiar" or "new skills or knowledge" of a previously unfamiliar subject or skill. At the same time, two views on the extent of the change in knowledge or behavior are embedded in these responses. The notion that to learn means to acquire additional information suggests a kind of incrementalism, an "additive and fine-tuning learning . . .that complements what is already known; there is no contradiction or challenge to existing knowledge or belief structures" (Pratt, 1991, p. 306). A more radical transformation of existing knowledge structures, on the other hand, seems implicit in conceptions which stress "new or revised perspective or an issue or subject", "reconsidering the way it's always been done", "empowerment", or even a more fundamental "changing and maturing."

. . .in order to apply it. . .
Learning also means to "apply knowledge", or to acquire knowledge "which is applicable and relevant". "As I approach the act of learning I ask myself", noted one student, "how will I use it?" It is not clear from the way responses are written whether for those who see learning in terms of both acquisition and application. Others seemed to separate them, observing one: "[I say to myself] Hey, I just learned something, and then I try to see if it will have any practical use". Or another, "Learning is the process of understanding. . . and then learning is also the making of applications and the integration of the concept of skill into my life".

. . .or because the knowledge or process is valuable in its own right.
The stress on application and doing conforms fairly well with Houle's goal-oriented type of learner. The contrast is with the learning-oriented who values learning and knowledge acquisition as a valuable process in its own right. Learning, according to this alternative conception, represents a "purposeful pursuit" or "satisfying [of] curiosity". Certainly, "learning can be practical", but it can also be "simply enjoyable", concerned with "how and why things work" and leading to a "deeper understanding" or enlightenment".

B. LEARNING AND THE SELF

When asked directly to define learning and its meaning to them, learners stress the relationship to knowledge, the process of its acquisition and use. Once the questions are broadened, however, and they are asked, "What has learning meant in your life?", another dominant conception emerges. Now learning is linked in all kinds of inextricable ways to the self and its place in the world. Learning becomes a means for the self to express itself or stake out a course for life. There are two ways in which this connection with one's being in the world are expressed: one has to do with growth, the other with control. First, we examine the idea of learning as means of driving or motivating the self.

Learning provides a framework for being and acting in the world.
Learning provides a framework by "giv[ing] meaning to a moment; by acquiring meaning a moment gains value and is remembered better". That framework provides the individual with his or her sense of identity. "Learning is. . .a higher level experience which addresses who I am and the meaning of my existence". The sense of identity ranges in significance from learning

being "part of my life for as long as I can remember" to "it is my life". Overwhelmingly, in this category, the stress is on how learning is the "driving force" behind the individual self. Occasionally, very faintly echoing the social responsibility motive detected by later researchers of Houle's typology, we hear a claim that learning means "improving quality of life of others, too", and not just the self. In one of the very few responses to the "any comments" section at the end of the questionnaire, one student wrote that in learning, one was "taking a risk to leave the world a better place".

Learning means growth and accomplishment, pleasure and adventure

Within the framework which defines learning as an essential component of life's tasks and journeys, there are separate trajectories. One ties the self to its own growth. Over and over again, we are told that to learn means to grow. It is "anything that promotes growth". It involves "changing and maturing". Because learning is a "growth process", one is "stagnant if not learning". Learning helps you grow as an individual. It is also important to "personal success", "enhanced self-esteem", "enhanced life experiences", a "sense of accomplishment". "I understood that I could do anything, accomplish any goal", etc. "I love to learn", exclaimed one student. "Learning is an adventure" said another. Apart from its link to growth and success, learning has "always been a pleasurable experience, almost like a form of recreation".

Learning also means power and control.

A second trajectory concerns the idea that with knowledge comes the ability to determine how one will live one's life and how one may translate or "cash in" one's accomplishments. If learning is a key element in the definition of self, no small part of the definition has to do with the power of knowledge to give one power and control, or at least the feeling that one is in control. Learning is the "difference between being stuck doing something I didn't like to designing my own future". Learning has "resulted in education that no one can take from me". The down side of this orientation is that, while "I have always wanted the titles and experiences education can bring", at the same time "I rarely enjoy the actual learning itself". Learning also means more conventional forms of power and control, like being able to secure a worthwhile, high-salary occupation. It gives the learner "increase[d] job progression", "knowledge that I have power to influence", "ability to get ahead in career area".

Finally, the simultaneous linking of learning to knowledge and self tends to be corroborated by responses to the question asking for characteristics of model learners (see footnote two). Model learners, for example, are conventional learners, able to "recall information readily and apply theories and concepts beyond the general expectations". They are the type that succeed in school and college settings: "people who can disregard the B.S. and stick to the goals of the course", "able to memorize reams of material and deliver it back on tests". But model learners are also a particular breed of people whose ability to learn is connected up with other more desirable qualities as a human being. Certain themes and traits predominate: openness, risk-taking, accepting of change, oriented to growth. They may be people who are not "afraid to take risks and make mistakes". They "would have open minds and time to take on the challenges". They "constantly seek opportunity to learn and grow". They are "always reaching and thinking about ways to make the system better". They demonstrate "dedication", are "strong communicators", and have a "sense of vision, purpose goals and plan for the future".

Discussion and Analysis

So what can we as teachers in higher and postsecondary education settings do with this kind of information? What are "conceptions of learning" in this context and what kind of pedagogically-relevant reality do they connote? In Marton's work (Dahlgren & Marton, 1978; Marton 1981), conceptions are important for the light they throw on what learners believe about the world or a particular subject matter. This is important because educators need to understand the extent to which a "conception"--knowledge of the world--is skewed in some way, is ill-formed or just plain wrong. It is also important for the light it throws on students' conceptual maps and constructions which insofar as they are well-developed "alternative frameworks" may be "highly resistant to change" (Pintrich, Marx & Boyle, 1993).

In the present case, however, the issue is not with conceptions of a subject matter or the reality it depicts, which may be right or wrong, but rather with a perception of or belief about the process by which the conception of the subject matter is obtained. We are concerned, in brief, with how rather than what learning takes place (Downs, 1984)/ This distinction is important for adult educators. Dahlgren and Marton's work has focused on the what, understandably enough given the recent interest of the scientific community in constructivist theory. Without suggesting that the what is not of considerable significance, the desire to focus on the how represents a discipline-wide attempt to theorize the notion of learning as a process in and of itself and thus to give research-based substance to discussions of active learning, learning-to-learn, metacognition, and so forth.

With these points in mind, here, for present purposes, are some observations and interpretations of the current data. The view of learning itself, the stress on acquiring knowledge, seems fairly conventional. At the same time, if it is essentially a process, there has to be some kind of marking of this process to show that it is occurring. Internal "reflection" will do this, but is it enough? A singular reference to "talking, listening, etc." suggests a way in which one can be shown both to the other--the teacher--and oneself that one is learning. The making visible for assessment and other purposes is important in the relationship between "old-timer" and "newcomer", but probably not in the incomplete relationship of student to student. Is this partly why students secretly rebel against being put in groups so much?

Learning relies on experiences for "active engagement". The literature on experiential learning, to the extent that it shifts the center of gravity outside of the classroom, does not serve the field well. Just as universities will survive, so will the classroom. The point seems to be to recognize in what ways teachers are busy creating authentic experiences from which learners will extract maximal meaning and in what ways they can be encouraged further in this most significant step. This is a promising area, as witnessed by the recent energy devoted to turning institutions like the museum, for example, into learning centers (Courtney, no date).

Finally, it is critical to realize that learners are not mere cognitivists. The motivation to learn or extract meaning from learning is a response form the whole person and not of the mind alone (Lave & Wenger, 1991). The self sits hugely amidst the responses of the learners in this study. That most salient factor suggests questions. Is the person who thinks of learning as merely adding to what s/he already knows--the accommodator (Pintrich,
et al.)-- the self for whom learning offers control and power but not much else. Correspondingly, is the learner for whom learning and knowledge mean something more radical and transformative of the self for whom learning is an indelible characteristic of his/her identity? These and others are questions that I plan to study further and would welcome the opportunity of discussing with colleagues during the conference.

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NONPARTICIPATION IN ADULT EDUCATION PROGRAMS: VIEWS OF BLUE-COLLAR MALE WORKERS WITH LOW-LITERACY SKILLS

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Abstract: Findings suggest that although low-literate, blue-collar male workers lack confidence in their "book learning" abilities, they are able to maintain their self-concepts by developing a high level of confidence in their work abilities. The resulting high "work esteem" and low "academic esteem" variables, conjointly persist as important determinants of nonparticipatory behavior in organized adult education programs.

Introduction: In the last few years, there has been increased interest by employers, educators, and policy makers, in the literacy levels of the adult population and the rate of participation in adult education programs in the United States. In particular, employers are concerned that their workforce will be under-skilled and ill-prepared for the technological advances of the future.

The purpose of this research was to examine reasons why blue-collar male workers with low-literacy skills fail to participate in adult education programs in light of a heightened awareness of technological advances and increased job losses in the low-skills areas. Because existing literature and theories have focused primarily on correlating specific variables with participation, important information about eligible adult learners, and particularly "blue collar" workers, has been ignored. This study investigated the historical, cultural, social, and structural influences of life world experiences on nonparticipation in adult education programs of 13 blue-collar male workers with low-literacy skills.

Review of the Literature: Much of the participation/nonparticipation research in the past has focused on the problems within the individual adult and has labeled him/her as being in need of treatment, rehabilitation, and remediation (Brookfield, 1986; Beder, 1991). Some studies (Carp, Peterson & Roelfs, 1972; Cross, 1981; Darkenwald, 1980; Hayes, 1988; Johnstone & Rivera, 1965; Valentine, 1990) focus primarily on identifying barriers and deterrents inhibiting participation, while others focus on participation from the perspectives of potential learners (Fingeret, 1990); Ross-Gordon, 1991; Stalker-Costin, 1987) to find the meaning education has for the individual based on past schooling experiences. Still others view education participation from a social reproduction position (Bowles & Gintis, 1976; Bourdieu, 1977; Giroux, 1983; MacLeod, 1987; Weis, 1988), examining the structures in society that have served to negatively impact the opportunities of some and improve the advantages of others. Quigley (1987) uses resistance theory to explain education nonparticipation, and most recently, Cookson (1995) has employed a multi-disciplinary model to examine nonparticipation in adult education programs.

However, findings of this study suggest that none of these theories and models adequately capture the reasons some adults, particularly blue-collar male workers with low-literacy skills, choose not to participate in adult education programs. Because most of these researchers have examined nonparticipation by studying those already participating, nonparticipants are labeled as deficient, and in need of rehabilitation (Beder, 1991; Brookfield, 1986). Findings of the current research suggest the contrary. Although nonparticipants may lack basic skills, according to mainstream standards, they are proficient in hands-on and manual work skills, priding themselves in their abilities to excel in this area.

None of the research studies examine the life world histories of nonparticipants in an effort to understand the context in which meanings attached to education are developed and participation behavior is shaped. However, this research is unique in that respect, providing a holistic view of individual workers' perceptions of education and what it means in the lives of individuals. Thus, clearer understandings of nonparticipation in education must be seen as grounded within the context of the life world experiences of populations of interest.

Methodology: This study was conducted using qualitative principles suggested for an interpretive case study research design. Thirteen male blue-collar workers, between the ages of 22 and 54, and including 3 Whites, 8, Blacks, 1 Asian/Italian, and 1 Black/Hispanic/Native American. Half of the participants were high school dropouts and the other half had completed high school but lacked high school reading skills, evidenced by the Word Recognition in Isolation Test (Rakes, Choate, and Waller, 1983) given during the screening process and self-reports. All 13 men worked for a small engineering company in Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

Data collected through open-ended in-depth interviewing were organized into three areas based on a phenomenological interviewing technique (Seidman, 1991): life history context, detail of experiences, and reflection on meanings. The worker's life history, family background and orientation toward education and learning, prior school experiences, present concerns about education, and future goals for educational attainment career plans were explored. Questions which required the person to reflect on his learning experiences and to attach meanings (how the person makes sense of his experiences), were asked to help respondents relate present learning experiences with past learning experiences. This type of interviewing often results in stories about learning that might reveal valuable information pertaining to the person's feelings and attitudes about education, learning and the learning environment. Other open-ended questions pertaining to the individual's home environment, community, academic and career goals, and learning experiences were asked to allow for the exploration of issues and meanings of his experiences. Each study participant was interviewed three times over a span of five weeks, lasting between 45 and 60 minutes. All interviews were audio-taped for verbatim transcription. During the final interviews, the respondents were asked to reflect on their participation in this study.

Major categories that emerged from the data included: educational and schooling experiences as youth, family and cultural influences, perceptions of education and work, and education in relation to work. Through subcategories of "missing something," teacher insensitivity, tracking and labeling, early responsibilities, race and class discrimination, "simple" aspirations and "hidden" opportunities, implicit details about the experiences of these men were illuminated. The inference of meanings based on the actions and behaviors revealed in the narratives of these thirteen individuals were analyzed from a dual perspective using phenomenology and symbolic interaction theories. This framework allowed the researcher to study individuals from their viewpoints, while considering the psychosocial, sociocultural and sociostructural elements that interplay to influence and shape their behaviors. Taken together, these variables provided a holistic picture of the life, educational, and work experiences of these thirteen individuals and helped to bring about a fuller understanding of their perceptions of education within the context of their respective lives.

Psychosocial, Sociocultural, and Sociostructural Influences: Collectively, their narratives tell the same story of poverty, low academic achievement, early responsibility pressures, and low parental encouragement to attain academic and economic success. Collectively, their early cultural experiences, defined as that which determines how people interpret and mentally organize their worlds, dictated their ways of thinking, attitudes, beliefs, and the manner in which they interface with education. Although their experiences varied, as did their race, they ultimately ended up in the same place, expressing similar ideas and beliefs, with similar aspirations and perceptions of opportunities. Each expressed a strong sense of agency or self-efficacy, that served to mediate their limited perceptions of opportunities.

When the study participants responded to questions pertaining to their school experiences, they expressed disappointment about the non-caring attitudes and insensitivity felt by their elementary, middle school/junior high, high school teachers, and administrators. Reasons given for resisting school and contributing to their decisions to leave school, whether mentally or physically, included the belief that teachers and other school officials were not interested in their success, that they failed to provide them with the support and encouragement needed to persevere in their educations, and seemed anxious to "push them out" of the system entirely. In response to their frustrations, these study participants resisted through acts of clowning, skipping school, 'getting by," and eventually dropping out. Those that remained to graduate, just as those who left early, found themselves ill-equipped with a solid foundation in basic skills, and faced with the reality that school had failed them. "They didn't teach me nuthin!," so revealed the study participants.

The treatment some of these men received, was obviously based on class differentials, but was not usually interpreted as such, primarily because everyone around them was exposed to the same treatment. Even though many of the schools were unduly equipped with inadequate teaching materials and delinquent curricula, most of these men were blind to the discrepancies. Because these conditions were common within the context of their lives, little attention was paid to what others outside of their social milieus were receiving. Although, in most cases, they realized that people with more money lived differently, it was easy to overlook any differences when commonly sheltered from wealthier circumstances. The "class culture" of these men was simply viewed as a normal and accepted way of life.

However, some of the nonwhite participants indicated having been treated differently because of their race. Because of their contact with white schools during sports events, glimpsing white children of their same ages with different books, and, being told by their teachers of their "second-hand books," most of them were aware of the discrepancies. Thus, these participants attributed these discrepancies to race, rather than class discrimination, and accepted it as a way of life and out of their control.

Their narratives suggest that they chose to readjust their lifestyles as not to allow such constraints to interfere with their personal well-being. They each refused to view themselves as "victims" of these inequities, but as "adapters" to the circumstances. Therefore, they have been able to maintain a belief that their opportunities for success are just as boundless as anyone else's, and have assigned "blame" to themselves, rather than to their skin color or low SES. Their interpretations of structural inequalities discount any responsibility of society for their marginalized opportunities.

By not blaming race or class, and maintaining a view of limitless opportunities, these men can continue to work each day with dignity an pride. As long as they feel they have the power to control the boundaries of their opportunities, as defined by them, then they can continue to strive to improve their quality of life.

Perceptions Limiting Participation: Contrary to their high esteem concerning their work abilities, the study participants expressed attitudes of uncertainty about their abilities to perform successfully in traditional school settings. Questions pertaining to their view of themselves as *intelligent* or *smart*, revealed that they perceive themselves as *intelligent*, but not *smart*. Smart, as described by these men, unanimously, means the "ability to make As", or high grades. Intelligence, on the other hand, refers to the capacity to learn new material, to perceive logical relationships, and to be able to use one's knowledge to solve problems and respond appropriately. They did not, however, translate intelligence into successful academic performance--making As. This way of understanding their own interaction with education, and the meaning it had for them, may explain why these men are able to maintain confidence in their ability to learn and find other avenues of learning outside the classroom that continue to affirm their abilities. They found ways to mediate and respond to structures that seemed counter to their own experiences, and adjusted their responses to meet their needs and to more closely "fit" within their own experiences. The interface between the concept of agency (self-efficacy) and their perceived opportunities was a constant theme in the lives of these thirteen individuals. As long as they are learning, the classroom is insignificant.

Findings: The findings of this research suggest several variables which inhibit adult education participation of blue-collar male workers with low-literacy skills. Variables ranging from psychosocial, sociocultural, and sociostructural tend to work together to help develop prospective learners' orientations toward education participation. These include negative school experiences, family influences, work orientation, exposure to opportunities, and one's aspirations, which carry over from youth to adulthood, influencing school resistance/ disengagement during youth and nonparticipation in education programs during adulthood.

Youth Experiences Carried Over to Adulthood to Influence Nonparticipation

Youth Experiences		Adulthood Meanings
Negative school experiences	→	Nonparticipation in adult education
Low academic achievement	→	Low "academic-esteem"
"Hidden" opportunities	→	Aspirations restricted
Success redefined	→	High "work-esteem"

Findings also suggest the connection between "academic-esteem" and "work-esteem," as important determinants for understanding reasons for nonparticipation among this group of individuals, identifying high work achievement in adulthood, as a replacement for the low-academic achievement they experienced during their school years. Because education came to symbolize frustration and failure, and "unable to do much" for these men, they redirected their strategies for success toward the workplace. *Work*, then, became, for these men, the "measuring stick" for achieving success rather than *education*, the conventional "key" to success. And, in order to maintain self-esteem, pride, and dignity, encounters with formal schooling are not approached with urgency--more often than not, formal education is avoided.

The additional findings in this study suggest that sociostructural factors, including race and class differentials, particularly in regards to school, affect individuals in different ways. While all of the respondents disclosed awareness of the limitations placed on groups of people because of race and/or class, these men chose to disallow its elements to *victimize* them. Although their exposure to opportunities was limited, and often "hidden," these men adjusted their aspirations to fit within the realms of their perceived opportunities, and began striving for achievement within the walls of their realities. Their interpretation of these opportunities are directly linked to their perception of education, and operate to influence their need for education and subsequent participation. In other words, individuals make decisions based on what they know, and as one participant put it, "If you don't know nuthin', you can't do nuthin'." These findings illuminate the strong sense of agency these men possess as they found ways during youth and continue to find ways as adults to mediate societal constraints. Similar to MacLeod's (1987) findings, "Aspirations provide a conceptual link between structure and agency because although they are rooted firmly in individual proclivity (agency), they also are acutely sensitive to perceived societal constraints (structure)" (p. 148).

Finally, the findings suggest that life world experiences, beginning with a recollection of past experiences, cannot be separated from the individual's present day or future anticipated experiences, if full understandings are to be gleaned. Holistic approaches to understanding human behavior must be applied when trying to understand the complex lives of adults and to understand their reasons for not participating in adult education programs. Through the voices of 13 blue-collar male workers with low-literacy skills, a greater understanding of their struggles and experiences helped to disclose the meanings they attach to education and illuminate variables that influence nonparticipation in adult education programs. It is the hope of this researcher, that more consideration will be given to studying people from their perspectives, rather than from assumptive positions, so that we begin to dispel the deficit views that flow throughout adult education literature.

Implications for Practice and Research: This research has implications for understanding nonparticipation of low-literate and low-skilled working adults from their world view. It takes the socio-historical context of the person's life into account and places reasons for nonparticipation within the context of their experiences with school, its culture, family and community influences, race, gender and socioeconomic differentials, personal aspirations and their perception of the opportunity structure. More importantly, this research has implications for providing some answers about school based approaches to adult education and calls for practitioners to rethink traditional methods for reaching this growing population.

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AN INITIAL PILOT SCHEME TOWARDS AN INTERNATIONAL COMPARATIVE ADULT EDUCATION RESEARCH APPROACH

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Abstract: This paper is based on the relevant literature and experience gained in the process of doing Ph.D. research in international comparative adult education (ICAE). It seeks to analyze how comparative adult education (CAE) scholars can generate their own research methodology by codifying theoretical, ideological and practical elements, and what approaches and sequential steps may be followed to form a more coherent framework of research. The aim of this paper is to help AE researchers to 'make' their own problems rather than 'take' them from other research agendas.

Comparative Method

Comparison is a basic process of human thinking and reasoning. Therefore, its usage in the comparative research sense dates back to the antique era. Comparative methodology is a set of principles, methods and techniques for conducting a comparative research, and all scientific disciplines, generally speaking, use comparative research methods either by 'making' its own methodology or by 'taking' from other disciplines (Young, 1971).

It is a well-known fact that there is a paradigmatic plurality in social, psychological, educational and information sciences; they are 'multiple paradigm sciences'. This implies a state of affairs in which there are numerous and different paradigms (Masterman, 1970) for each body of knowledge, research methodology and approaches, etc. For that reason, some assert that scientific method is not appropriate for social science research; comparative research is not possible, and quasi-comparative studies generate incomplete evidence and flawed arguments. On the other hand, some believe that this is wrong, and comparative studies in social, educational and political sciences can be usefully done to contribute literature and to understand the world and social phenomena.

Adult Education

In light of the above discussion of comparative research in general, one would expect to see similar paradigmatic plurality in respect of the definitions, terminology, epistemology, research methods and techniques in AE. The field of AE has a multi-disciplinary character. It is widely agreed that AE is ideologically-driven contested terrain. As a "socio-practical" as well as a "theoretico-practical" field of study, AE has a multi-disciplinary and multiple-paradigmatic nature. Therefore, the field of AE should have a "meta-discourse" in terms of which its practitioners are aware on these issues. It is the aim of this paper to sketch out the elements of such a discourse.

The conceptualization of AE and its research questions, approaches and methods may vary from one society to another. For example, as is clarified succinctly by Rubenson (1989), the conceptions of AE research questions and trends in North America and Western Europe differ from one another. The North American AE conception is based upon the idea of "people-over society", while the European's premise is "people-in-society". In addition to this, psychologically-oriented "process, i.e., instruction, -product, i.e., student learning" research trends are very popular in North America because many AE scholars assume that motivation is the basic determinant for participating in AE process. AE studies in Western Europe, unlike North America, are sociologically, and decision-oriented because AE is considered as a part of social and economic policy.

Beyond the multi-disciplinary character and epistemological as well terminological ambiguity of AE, the conceptualization, policy and practice of AE provisions differs throughout the world depending upon development levels, historical, political and cultural traditions. In other words, adult education reflects the relationships between power, structure and ideology in a society. It is, therefore, a culturally-bounded social phenomenon.

Comparative Adult Education

When one moves from AE to CAE, similar types of disagreements, varieties of approach and thoughts can easily be seen. Some believe that CAE is a sub-field in comparative education (CE). Some believe that there is no such subject as CAE. Some believe that CAE is a research or evaluative activity. Some believe that CAE is a growing field of study out of CE, international education, adult education and the social sciences. Ultimately, the essential point to be made here is that there is little agreement regarding the epistemology of CAE and its research methods and techniques.

Despite these lively debates and disagreements on CAE, it has been widely agreed that CAE has already begun to develop its own concepts, definitions, strategies, approaches and interests. The considerable interaction amongst the CAE scholars started through conferences, publications and professional bodies such as the Committee for Study and Research in Comparative Adult Education (CSRCAE), the International Congress of University Adult Education (ICUAE), and the International Council of Adult Education (ICAE) (Charters, 1992).

In such a context, ICAE scholars need to generate their own research methodologies by focusing upon a 'combination and categorization of methods'. Namely, they should undertake a 'codification' which has been defined by Merton (1968) as 'the orderly and compact arrangement of fruitful procedures of inquiry and substantive finding'.

There is a general inclination to conceive ICAE research as a team-work in the field of CAE. There is no doubt that ICAE studies done by teams, particularly multi-disciplinary and international teams, may have many advantages. However, this ought not to belittle ICAE studies conducted individually. Although there are some important accounts and debates on ICAE research being done by a team, there are no debates on the process of ICAE studies being carried out as a part of graduate programs and postdoctoral studies. Although team-based ICAE research approaches have influenced, either explicitly or implicitly, the process of ICAE studies being carried out individually, they should be considered to be different in many respects. Individual research in this area is likely to remain the mode through what research is done.

There are numerous elements which should be codified to generate a unique methodology by ICAE scholars. Consideration of elements may be seen as the process of identifying, sensitizing and clarifying major concepts, and empirical categories that Ragin (1994) formulates as parts of the process of qualitative research.

TIP Scheme

The scheme of TIP, as it is seen in Figure 1, is an initial attempt at the codification process which is necessary. It refers theoretical, ideological and practical elements which should be pondered by ICAE scholars. Elements of the TIP scheme may be considered as essential (T_e, I_e, P_e) and additional (T_a, I_a, P_a) elements. Essential elements are the basic ones to be considered by the ICAE researchers. Essential elements provide a perspective and a relevant body of knowledge. Additional elements may be clarified and sensitized specifically by researchers according to the nature of research problem, availability and comparability of data, the background of the researcher, and time, money and facilities available to the researcher. ICAE researchers may reach in-depth analyses and a way of seeing phenomena and research problem through additional elements.

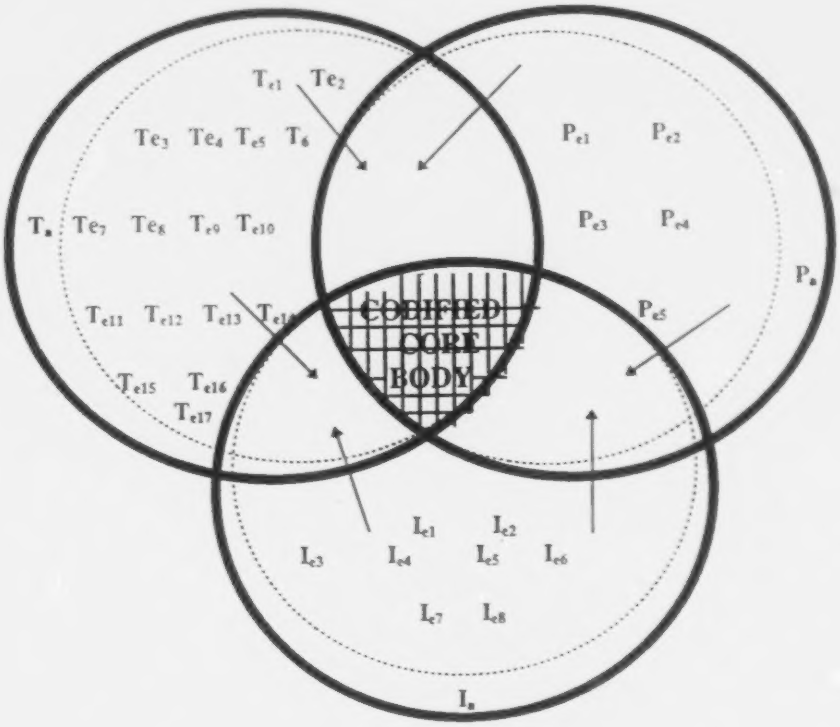

Figure 1
The Scheme of Tip

The congruent areas on Figure 1 are left empty because it is extremely debatable which elements belong in which congruent area, and why. It may vary from one perspective to another; from one researcher to another. Arrows in Figure 1 simply display this flexibility, which researchers ought to tailor in accord with their own study.

After pondering of elements which are grouped as theoretical, ideological and practical (TIP), a codified core body, illustrated in Figure 1, is formed as the central focus to research methodology for regulating and directing the whole research process. It is a uniquely generated research methodology, the focus of which may vary from researcher to researcher in accordance with the nature of research problem, availability and comparability of the data, background of the researcher, and time, money and facilities available to him/her.

In clarifying the meta-discourse of ICAE in this way, two important things are explicitly done.

First, a mixture of qualitative and quantitative research methods, which is qualitatively oriented but not purely qualitative, is employed in the process of ICAE research. According to Grounded Theory, which has had a great impact on research in AE both in North America and Europe, there is no fundamental clash between qualitative and quantitative approaches, and each form of data is useful (Rubenson, 1989).

Qualitative research is defined as an "in-depth examination of specific cases in a reciprocal clarification process". It may be considered as a "data enhancement" process to get in-depth knowledge about the phenomena. Qualitative research is holistic and less structured than other sorts of research. Qualitative researchers have to "triangulate" information about a number of cases in order to make sense of one case. Triangulation may be defined as a way of using independent pieces of information to get a better fix on something that is only partially known or understood. In other words, it implies comparing different kinds of data and different methods to see whether they support each other or not, and to identify the correct positions of the objects (Ragin, 1994, Silverman, 1993).

Secondly, ICAE researchers are provided adequate flexibility to generate their own research methodology. This methodological flexibility is vital in the process of ICAE research. Therefore, I believe that CAE research methodology, which is widely agreed as a 'panoply' or an amalgamation and combination of convenient methods and techniques, is just the codified core body described in this paper.

Theoretical Elements

Given that the area of meta-discourse must be mapped out, it should include the following theoretical elements: Epistemology of AE, Lifelong Education, Learning Society, Information Society, Recurrent Education, Continuing Education, Andragogy, Liberal Education, University Adult Education; Comparative Research, Positivist, Interactive (interpretive), ethnomethodological (Grounded Theory) Research Approaches; Qualitative and Quantitative Research; Interview; Observation; Discourse Analysis; Textual Analyses, Functional Analysis; Case Studies; Major and Minor Comparisons; Micro and Macro Comparisons, Horizontal and Vertical Comparisons; Descriptive (Juxtaposition) and Interpretive (analytical) Comparisons.

Ideological Elements

Comparative studies are seen as the pooling of resources, international cooperation and transfer of training, and means to understand and improve existing practices and policies of related systems. In other words, the aims of comparative studies are to adapt models, to transplant structures or innovations, i.e., lending-borrowing, and to direct policies, plans and practices. In this context, CAE, as has been declared by Charters (1981), may be defined as a process of "learning from each other". Charters and Siddiqui (1989) define this process of learning both as vertical, which implies learning from the past to improve the present and future, and horizontal, which refers learning in the present from the practices of adult education in other countries and cultures.

It is a very important to grasp at this point that traditional patterns of the interaction between the developed and less developed countries are neo-colonial and culturally imperialistic. Altbach (1982, 1987), and Youngman (1988) have mentioned strikingly how developed countries abuse CE and CAE to sustain and to reinforce colonial legacy which has been renamed as neo-colonialism. The colonial legacy, which is now less overt but not less powerful than the past, has been embedded through wide usage of English, French and Spanish; foreign aid policies; control of the production and distribution of the knowledge; education and training of the elite groups of the peripheral countries; creation of regional centers in strategic territories; creation and control of some international organizations such as IMF, World Bank and OECD, in order to implement and legitimize the concepts of "new world order", "globalization of the economies" and "interdependency".

From the above discussion it is clear that CAE may have some impacts, either explicit or implicit, on the continuation and reinforcement of colonial legacy. Therefore, ICAE scholars should ponder the following ideological elements/concepts: colonialism, neo-colonialism, dependency theory, centre-peripheral debate, modernization and postmodernism, cultural imperialism, underdevelopment, and third world. It is a vital task for ICAE scholars to analyze critically the ramification of newly acting policies, practices in the light of international experiences and the results of the studies in order to contribute to the abandonment of the neocolonial legacy. By doing this, ICAE scholars can initiate the dismantling of the "servitude of the mind" in their societies.

Practical Elements

Doing ICAE research, of course, has some practical elements that researchers should pay attention to beforehand. These are: linguistic problems, availability and comparability of the data, elements of time, money and facilities available for researcher, excessive pragmatism and problem-centredness, existing historical, social, economic and cultural situations in compared countries. These elements, which can be seen as the practical problems, should be initially acknowledged by the ICAE scholars.

Sequential Steps

It follows from the discussion so far that research in ICAE could usefully be done in the following way in which it is overtly needed:

(a) to decide scope of research/definition of research problem;
(b) to select relevant sites and cases;
(c) to define what is to be compared;
(d) to set up tentative research aims and objectives;
(e) to investigate the availability and comparability of the data;
(f) to contemplate the essential TIP elements;
(g) to identify and sensitize additional TIP elements;
(h) to codify core body/generation of being employed research methodology;
(i) to collect and classify data;
(j) to work on descriptive comparison/juxtaposition;
(k) to work on interpretive comparison/ analysis of why and how these similarities/ dissimilarities have arisen;
(l) to make a first draft of the report for discussion, interpretation and critique;
(m) to make final draft and dissemination of the findings to stimulate further debate on theory, method, policy and research.

Conclusion

In consequence, there is no doubt that CAE scholars should "make" their own research problems and methodologies rather than "take" them from elsewhere. It is widely acknowledged that CAE as a research field has already begun to advance in this way. AE as the body of knowledge should develop a meta-discourse owing to its multi-disciplinary and multi-paradigmatic nature.

It is my own belief that each methodological debate on CAE research can be considered as a paradigm in the Kuhnian sense (Kuhn 1970). Therefore, it would have a role in the field as a 'concrete problem solution'. Through well-organized and developed methodological dialogue in the field of CAE, methodological paradigms enable solutions to be offered 'concrete problem solutions' in its cumulative outcomes. In this sense, the principal objective of this paper is to sketch out a framework for inter-professional dialogue, and to help ICAE scholars working as individuals to develop a greater theoretical coherence to their study.

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Post-literacy in Niger:
Program Design and the Transfer of Learning

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Abstract. Post-literacy programs have been adopted in many countries of West Africa as a means of dealing with the paucity of applications for new literate competence in rural areas and the patch results of adult education. Results of such endeavors in the Republic of Niger provide a good means of analyzing their strengths and weaknesses.

In 1964, the government of Niger launched an adult literacy program ostensibly aimed at supplementing the educational efforts of its primary school system and enabling the 99% of the population then unlettered in Western systems of writing to gain these skills. The intervention was part of a series of initiatives undertaken by the country's independence leaders to foster economic and social development, then understood as bridging the technological and industrial gap between the new nation's economy and those of Western countries. More than thirty years later, the program has arguably not fulfilled its promise and Niger remains one of the least "literate" of African countries, at least in terms of Western schooling and writing systems. There have been successes along with the failures, however, and Niger has been the site of a number of innovative efforts to reinforce adult literacy. Prominent among these have been the "post-literacy" programs devised by the government agency responsible for adult education -- the "Service de l'Alphabétisation et de l'Education des Adultes" (Literacy and Adult Education Service, hereafter LAES) -- during the 1970s and 1980s. The experience of post-literacy programming in Niger provides a graphic example of the conditions under which adult literacy efforts in Sahelian Africa succeed and the reasons why they fail.

This paper reports on research devoted to analyzing and articulating those lessons. In the pages to follow we present first a brief overview of the methodology of the study, next an examination of the historical and political economic context in which adult literacy efforts were undertaken in Niger, third a discussion of the emergence of the post-literacy strategy, fourth a summary of the results of the field research component of the study, and last a set of conclusions regarding the conditions governing successful adult literacy and post-literacy work in Sahelian West Africa that the experience related here suggests.

Methodology. Research was organized around two essential questions. "Why have post-literacy initiatives in Niger largely failed and under what conditions have they succeeded? What do these experiences teach us about possibilities for the use and spontaneous propagation of literate competence in West Africa?"

A combination of qualitative data collection techniques was used in carrying out the actual research in West Africa. These included (1) document review; (2) survey of stakeholders and participants at a variety of levels, and (3) group and individual interviews. The field work occurred between March and July 1995 and consisted of the analysis of annual reports and other documents produced by the Adult Literacy Agency from 1963 to 1995, individual interviews with policy-makers and program designers, a survey of program implementation personnel, group interviews in a sample of 30 centers selected in six of the eight administrative regions of the country, individual interviews with 85 participants and community leaders in 10 of the 30 sites where group interviews were carried out. The research was also adopted in August 1995 as one component of a larger study of literacy, decentralization and local development in five West African countries being carried out by Club du Sahel and CILSS (Easton, Moussa, and Mukweso, 1995).

Historical and political-economic context: Public adult education efforts in Niger began in fact well before the 1964 launching of the literacy campaign. The French colonial administration initiated "cours d'adultes" (adult night courses) as early as 1945 to provide young men -- and particularly those demobilized from military service -- with an opportunity to make up for "what they lost" by not having gone to school (Galy, 1984; Moussa, 1995). As a replication of the formal schooling that it was designed to complete, this type of adult literacy was concentrated in the country's few urban areas and taught exclusively in French through 1955, despite the fact that less than 1% of the adult population of the country actually spoke the language. French colonial education policy systematically discounted indigenous and religious literacies, of which at least two important ones existed in Niger: Tifinar script for the Tamasheq language, and Ajami, a transcription system of Hausa based on Arabic characters, had been in use in the area for centuries before European invasion.

The Republic of Niger itself came into being as a politically independent country in 1960, but within borders inherited from the logic of the European 1885 Balkanization of Africa and the "divide and rule policy" of its colonial masters. Some Nigerian historians (e.g., Salifou, 1993) in fact argue that independence was granted in 1960 in order to forestall the genuine liberation movements that were then underway. In any case, as a result of this accelerated access to sovereignty, the political leaders who took over the former colonial territory preserved France's interests and allowed it to control policy development in Niger at a lesser cost than that involved in direct colonization, principally through the maintenance of former colonial officers as technical assistants in the new government. To carry out its economic agenda, the newly independent government began implementing a development strategy designed to introduce large scale social change through the diffusion of innovation. A series of programs and institutions were created, including the adult literacy initiative, to help transform the rural population from small independent subsistence and cash-crop farmers into farm workers whose worldview and economic behavior would be more consistent with the interests of the metropolitan capitalist economy. A few years' experience demonstrated, however, that local realities were not conducive to the development of a literacy program and that the social context was not favorable for the kind of change process the interventions targeted.

From literacy to post-literacy: The local language adult literacy program experimented in Niger in 1963 and first launched on a broad scale in 1964 was supported by UNESCO and conceived within a traditional framework wherein reading and writing skills were to be provided for their own sake. Once illiterate adults had acquired the basics of literacy and numeracy in one of the five principal languages of the country (Hausa, Zarma, Fulfulde, Kanuri or Tamasheq), it was assumed that a few reading materials would suffice to enable them to maintain their skills and to play a catalyzing role in the development of their local environment (Winchester, 1990).

A few years of slim results began to make it clear, however, that these assumptions were not well-founded: newly literate adults in rural areas in particular found relatively little use for their recently acquired skills, because of the paucity of activities in their environment requiring and potentially remunerating this new technology; and the literacy campaign was never wholeheartedly embraced by local communities. The initial strategy was thus gradually joined, but never fully superseded, by two other related ones. The first of these was the official "functional literacy" model initially articulated at the 1965 UNESCO conference in Teheran (Iran). Several functional literacy projects were undertaken by the LAES with UNESCO guidance and support, but most suffered from the same naive operationalization of "functionality" that afflicted other such endeavors (cf. Levine, 1982). At the same time, a second and more specifically Nigérien strategy began to evolve under the aegis of the series of government agencies -- principally Rural Animation, the National Cooperative Union and the Agricultural Extension Agency -- that were responsible for "integrated rural development" (IRD). The IRD model involved developing locally-managed farm cooperatives that could take charge of the marketing of their own produce, handle farm input procurement, devote the capital realized in this fashion to other critical local investments, and gradually evolve into the embryo of self-governing rural communes. Within this strategy, literacy programs played the role of locally-managed training schemes for giving village personnel the skills required to handle their new responsibilities; and the LAES was generally invited to play the role of facilitator and organizer of the training components.

As a consequence, three types of programs (traditional literacy, UNESCO-style functional literacy, and IRD programs) evolved simultaneously. None of the three met with convincing success. The traditional approach proved technically deficient for the reasons mentioned. The UNESCO functional literacy strategy never really broke out of the traps of naive functionalism and pilot project irreplicability in which such initiatives were so often caught. And the IRD approach, while promising and sometimes highly productive, fell prey to major political constraints: the other government services involved, and in a larger sense the dominant political forces of the country behind them, proved quite unready to accept the transfer of resources and power to local associations which was, in the final analysis, the keystone element of the strategy. In fact, the episodic and place-specific progress made in this regard was mostly the result of the short-lived intervention of foreign technical assistance personnel having sufficient "clout" or resources to promote for a limited time what the political environment was not ready to concede in any more durable manner.

In an attempt to remedy this situation, the official Literacy Agency, like its sister institutions in other African countries, eventually decided to develop on its own programs designed to create the support system that newly literate peasants would need in order to play the role of change agents assigned to them by the original authors of the campaign strategy. Early initiatives of this nature were taken in 1965 and consisted of the production of regional Nigérien-language newspapers and related reading materials for new literates, as well as the promotion of "self-managed" centers. These latter were conceived as community institutions within which program graduates would meet, organize continuing education activities as well basic literacy teaching for their illiterate fellows, and provide the catalyst for other local development efforts.

The "post-literacy" program evolved in the early 1970s out of these first initiatives, but it was endowed with a mission broader than that of the "self-managed centers" and entailed a more ambitious series of organized efforts to provide productive uses for new literate competence. LAES documents offer the following definition: "Post-literacy centers are centers with a nucleus of literate adults. They tend towards self-management and their activities are meant to ensure the permanent education of the village community." (LAES, 1972, p. 32). Their activities were to include village newspapers and libraries, and small income-generating projects. The 1970 version of the post-literacy program was further elaborated in 1979-80 to provide for the creation of a community-wide development institution where educated members, irrespective of their educational background, would meet, exchange views, and invest their skills and knowledge for the development of their locality.

The post-literacy model as promoted in the 1980s therefore had the following characteristics:

1. First, the activity was designed for villages where literacy centers had existed for at least two years (the assumed standard time necessary to produce a first "crop" of new literates) and where there was a "nucleus" of at least 10 newly literate adults.
2. Next, regional LAES supervisors were instructed to consult the village population in order to determine whether or not the community was willing to continue the literacy effort with its

own resources, and if so, what specific activities they were interested in conducting.

3. The third step was designation of literacy graduates who would staff the center and the training of these facilitators. To help get the activities up and running, the Literacy Agency trains the facilitator(s) chosen by community members, and provides an incentive bonus of 10,000 Francs CFA (approximately $20) to the facilitator(s) at the end of the first year if their performance is deemed satisfactory.
4. Participants and village authorities choose one or more post-literacy activities from a "menu" that varies depending on the funding source and type of literacy program carried out in their literacy center. Government-sponsored centers generally operated village “libraries” (typically 50 or so books in a metal case, with notebooks for tracking book loans) and newspapers (four to five page papers edited and printed locally with simple limograph equipment for circulation within the village and its surroundings).

Income-generation projects were distinctly less common. On the other hand, centers funded by economic development projects and NGOs had post-literacy programs that usually centered on the particular type of development activity that the sponsor organized: grain storage systems, local handicrafts or livestock husbandry, for example. If candidate villages responded favorably to these conditions, a "contract" was drawn up between them and the organization sponsoring the post-literacy center in order to define the role of each party.

In reality, there were a number of slips between cup and lip. For one thing, field staff did not apply these principles consistently and often based their decision to create post-literacy centers on the political weight of the community, the availability of funding, and the importance of literacy activities in their area. In addition, and in a broader sense, it should be noted that the creation of the post-literacy was also motivated by a fundamental fiscal constraint: the LAES could not continue funding the literacy centers that it had created across the country and had to find a way to move them into some less demanding status without obviously closing them down. The modest investment involved in staffing post-literacy centers offered therefore a means of phasing out obligations and easing literacy sites into self-reliance or polite disappearance.

Results of the field research. Despite encouraging beginnings and some landmark successes, the post-literacy initiative has mostly fallen into disrepair and had little more massive impact than the programs it was designed to complement. These meager results are at least partly attributable to harsh contextual conditions. Analysis of and triangulation from these varied sources of data suggest that penury of resources, particularly in recent years of “structural adjustment” and consequent severe curtailment of education budgets, has much to do with the collapse of the post-literacy effort: In region after region, support staff were unable to even visit the sites where the work had been undertaken, for lack of operating budgets. At the same time, the assumption that government or NGO staff would shepherd the effort from start to finish and consequent neglect of issues of local ownership and participation in planning flawed the design from the outset. Deep-rooted suspicion of Western administration, little allayed by the experience of villages since “flag independence,” further compromised efforts.

Closer analysis, however, reveals underlying causes to lie as well in the persistent lack of “opportunity structures” -- that is, initiatives, policies and development programs that might give increased responsibility to local communities and put literate competence to practical use. The literacy agency tried to but in most cases simply could not create this environment on its own. As Hausa wisdom asserts, “A man is not a well: still less can he slake the thirst of a whole community.” One highly significant finding in this regard is that post-literacy centers created and supported by development operations fared significantly better than those created by the LAES. Nearly none of the village libraries and local newspapers established with LAES support have survived to date, though many provided valuable experience to participants during their short lives; a number of the post-literacy programs based on grain-storage systems or marketing schemes continue nonetheless to function to one degree or another. This difference is certainly partly due to the fact that the development agencies and NGOs were typically better funded than the LAES and therefore better able to monitor and support the work in the field in a time of severe structural adjustment and budget compressions. In fact, the reproach most regularly addressed to LAES agents in failed post literacy centers was "kun yaye mu": "you weaned us [too soon]."

But those factors are not sufficient to explain away the difference. Some weight must also be given to the fact that the development-project and NGO brand of post-literacy has been anchored for the most part in the transfer of actual economic management and social service performance functions into local hands, and therefore in activities which create a demand for literate skills and provide resources that can potentially be devoted to funding the information and continuing education sides of the phenomenon. Most local interviewees contacted during the study in fact emphasized this use of literacy as the principal motivation for continuing their efforts; and a pattern of rough negative correlation between the demand for outside support of post-literacy and the financial viability of local income-generating activities could be noted. The less the local post-literacy strategy included actual economic empowerment, the more local stakeholders attributed its failings to insufficient monitoring by government agencies.

Conclusions. There is something both challenging and counter-intuitive about post-literacy programming. The Niger experience seems to sum up both sides of the coin. On the one hand, providing activities and reading materials to assist new literates in consolidating, developing and retaining their skills is both an inherently worthwhile undertaking and an important pedagogical strategy. On the other hand, literacy and numeracy are arguably technologies for management of social and economic affairs before they become vehicles for cultural enrichment and continuing education, or at least can only fill the two functions in close symbiosis (Easton, 1989; Tuman, 1988). It is from this perspective no accident that the alphabet was first invented as a management tool on the large-scale irrigation schemes of the fertile crescent, though it soon proved an excellent support for statecraft and the "religions of the book."

Insofar as post-literacy supposes economic and institutional investments that make the technology of literacy a practical necessity, it is evident that literacy agencies per se are generally poorly situated to promote it... unilaterally. The services they can offer best -- creation of local libraries, establishment of village newspapers, organization of continuing education activities, for example -- all make sense in the context of a demand that economic development and/or socio-political decentralization help to create. They can then serve to sustain, enrich and amplify that demand, and to make possible degrees of social capitalization and local empowerment otherwise unimaginable. But, as the Hausa saying goes, "Say da ruwan ciki a ke ja na rijiya": It takes water in the belly to draw it from the well. Libraries, newspapers and courses launched on their own in circumstances as sparsely capitalized as those in rural Niger seem destined to the fate discovered in this study. And literacy agencies generally do not have the specialized competence necessary to sustain viable income-generating activities. But the arrival of new actors on the scene, in the form of NGOs and decentralized development projects, may at last be providing the counterpart that has for so long been lacking in Nigerian literacy strategies. Time will tell.

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DEMYSTIFIERS, CHAMPIONS AND PIRATES: HOW ADULT EDUCATORS CONSTRUCT THEIR IDENTITIES

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Abstract. This paper examines the metaphors, labels and discourses employed by adult educators in the construction of their professional and personal identities in the rapidly changing social and institutional context of contemporary adult education. It suggests a typology for the analysis of metaphors of self-identity.

Aims of this paper: Our purpose in this paper is to investigate the metaphors and labels — among them the demystifiers, champions and pirates of the title — which adult educators use to describe their identities and practices and to examine the way in which they employ image, narrative and anecdote to construct and reflect on their personal and professional selves. Questions addressed include those of how such metaphors and labels reflect the changing contexts and discourses of contemporary adult education, and of how the current complexities and uncertainties of practice impact on the identities of adult educators. Most of the data on which we report here were collected from educators in the United Kingdom, but we believe that our analysis has relevance to practitioners elsewhere.

Theoretical framework: Two inter-related sets of theoretical concerns form the background for this paper. The first of these is the preoccupation amongst social scientists and cultural theorists with questions of identity and self-identity. The British sociologist Anthony Giddens suggests that the changes and uncertainties of contemporary life and the wide range of options available to people (at least, in some aspects of their lives) produce a situation in which 'the self becomes a reflexive project' (1991: 32). In what Giddens terms late modernity, and others (such as Kellner, 1993) call postmodernity, self-identity becomes conditional upon a choice of lifestyles, and represents an attempt to overcome a sense of existential anxiety. This attempt can never succeed as such anxiety is integral to the postmodern condition: identity becomes insecure and shifting (see Edwards and Usher, 1996). It is against this background that our interest in the self-identities of adult educators has developed. We wish to examine how these might be constructed differently as a result of changes in the context of adult learning, and whether or not they are becoming more complex, multifaceted and uncertain.

The second is the concern amongst sociologists and adult educators in autobiography and life history as methods and foci of research (see for example, Freeman, 1993; Miller, 1993; Swindells, 1995). How people tell stories about their lives, the ways in which those narratives are constructed and their significance for wider socio-economic and cultural processes are areas of contention and debate. It is argued that the self is brought into being through discursive practices which define and limit the world and render it meaningful. Artefacts, stories and narratives become metaphors or 'mediators and filters through which we not only live our lives with others in our environment but understand and symbolize that life and ourselves' (Adam, 1994: 157).

To refer in general terms to adult educators may suggest that we are assuming a homogeneous field of shared identities and narratives. However, we see the constituency of adult educators as characterised by heterogeneity and difference, as reflected in Miller's work (1994a, 1994b) on invisible colleges and participant observation of meetings and conferences of adult educators. Our analysis draws on the growing body of work on tribes, networks and subcultures in adult education and how these are expressed in metaphors of self-identity.

Metaphors of adult educators. In the literature on and by adult educators, there are many ways in which the identities of members of this group have been described and constructed. Darkenwald and Merriam (1982) outline five 'tribes' of adult education — traditionalists, self-actualisers, progressives, guerillas and organisational maintainers. Each tribe is identified as having its own distinct values, concerns and pedagogic styles. While presented as a classificatory typology, this approach can also be read as a way of creating stories about adult educators as tribal, the specific tribal stories acting as a means of defining worlds, influencing practice and shaping identity. It can also be seen as a way of placing a boundary around the self and the group. More recently, Giroux (1992) argues that educators need to re-position themselves as cultural workers with an identity expressed in the metaphor of border-crossers. Brookfield (1993: 75), in his discussion of metaphors as shorthand encapsulations of reality, uses the examples of 'midwives', 'gatekeepers' and 'enablers' as ways of framing adult education practices. Miller (1993: 76) recounts her fears of being discovered as an impostor in the academic world of university adult education, a view Brookfield (1993: 69) also feels to be relevant to many students of adult education. Miller (1994a: 82) says of her initiation into work in adult education that she initially identified herself as a sociologist because of her background discipline. This small selection of examples suggests that there is a rich reservoir of metaphors through which adult educators have constituted their identities, ways of being which incorporate ways of doing, knowing and feeling.

The metaphors outlined above can be placed within a range of differing types of discourse: instrumental, aspirational and affective (see Figure 1). It is important not to assume that if a metaphor is situated in one type of discourse it is excluded from others; an instrumental identity may also possess aspirational and affective dimensions. However, it is helpful for analytic purposes to distinguish the various emphases. Metaphors linked to an instrumental discourse situate adult educators within their role, and relate to activities in which the individuals concerned need to engage in order to fulfil the functions of that role. Aspirational metaphors express the wishes of adult educators to achieve certain goals through their activities and reflect adult educators' values and beliefs. Affective metaphors are those which express feelings about the subject's identity.

Instrumental	Aspirational	Affective
Organisational maintainer	Self-actualiser	Impostor
Sociologist	Progressive	
Gatekeeper	Guerilla	
	Traditionalist	
	Border crosser	
	Midwife	
	Enabler	

Figure 1: Typology of discourse in the metaphors of adult educators'

Clearly, the meanings invested in particular metaphors will vary according to place, time and the social and cultural location of the subject. Nevertheless, this typology provides a starting point for further investigation. We now move from metaphors used in the literature of adult education to an examination of how adult educators identify themselves in order to establish whether this typology can be of more general use in interpreting questions of identity.

An action research workshop on metaphor and identity. Over the last four years, we have conducted a number of studies amongst our peers in university-based adult education with the aim of furthering our understanding of the ways in which members of this professional group construct and reflect upon their identities and contexts. (An example of this work is described in Miller, 1994b). For the purpose of the present paper, we shall focus on one example of our work in this area. We conducted an action research workshop at a recent adult education research conference with the aim of exploring the images of adult education with which participants in the workshop identified, and of examining the metaphors and narratives which adult educators used to interpret their roles, purposes and identities.

The workshop consisted of the following activities:

1. Participants were asked to identify themselves with a number of true-or-false statements, such as whether or not they had read Freire's Pedagogy of the Oppressed (1972), whether or not they had an e-mail address, whether or not they had laptop computers, mobile telephones and at least one pair of Dr Martens shoes;
2. Participants were asked to group themselves on the basis of (a) the decade when they first identified themselves as adult educators, (b) the first location in which they identified themselves in this way, for example, adult, further or higher education, © their current locations as adult educators;
3. Participants were asked to brainstorm a list of labels by which they would identify themselves as adult educators;
4. Participants were asked to group themselves around the label or labels which they felt they would apply to themselves as adult educators;

5. The groups which formed were asked to construct posters which expressed the identities they had ascribed to themselves and through which they would attempt to attract other adult educators. Participants were provided with a range of materials to use in the construction of their posters, including photographic images of adult educators drawn from magazines and promotional material;
6. The groups introduced their posters as images of their identity as adult educators
7. Workshop participants were asked to reflect on questions of identity raised by and within the workshop.

Metaphors of self-identity. We analysed the range of metaphors produced by workshop participants and the specific sets of metaphors around which groups constructed their posters and hence their self-identities. On this basis we attempted to assess the extent to which the typology above helped to make sense of groups' self-ascriptions.

Figure 2 summarizes both the range of metaphors generated by workshop participants during the brainstorming exercise and the number of times that particular labels were used by groups in order to construct their identities and images. The extensive range of metaphors produced by participants is striking, although labels associated with the academic disciplines of adult education, such as sociologist, psychologist or historian, were not among them. It is noticeable that the most popular labels chosen by the groups were those which formed part of the instrumental discourse, with those that could be seen as part of a traditional professional identity, such as facilitator and learner, predominating. Instrumental metaphors associated with market-oriented identities, such as accountant or entrepreneur, were eschewed.

Facilitator	3	Fixer	1
Learner	3	Community Resource	1
Researcher	3	Conduit	1
Innovator	3	Risk-taker	1
		Champion	1
Co-ordinator	2	Pirate	1
Teacher	2	Campaigner	1
Bridge-builder	2	Demystifyer	1
Subversive	2	Gambler	1
		Emotional Prop/Wreck	1
Counselor	1	Ear	1
Trainer	1	Peer Supporter	1
Fund-raiser	1		
Translater	1	Accountant	0
Interpreter	1	Entrepreneur	0
Friendly Face of Feminism	1	Moaner	0

Figure 2 : Metaphors of self-identity and their usage

The six groups which participants formed, and the sets of metaphors with which they chose to identify, are summarised in Figure 3. Each of the groups felt the need to assemble a wide range of descriptors in order to represent their self-identities. This suggests that the concept of a single bounded tribal metaphor for adult educators is inadequate, and needs to be recast in more complex and multifaceted terms. (The theoretical underpinnings of the notion of volatile and ambiguous identity are discussed more fully in Edwards & Usher 1994, 1996).

Group		Group	
A.	Teacher	B	Translator
	Researcher		Innovator
	Fund-raiser		Pirate
	Emotional Prop/Wreck		Champion
	Fixer		Campaigner
	Bridge-builder		
	Subversive		
	Co-ordinator		
C	Learner	D	Ear
	Co-ordinator		Friendly face of feminism
	Researcher		Peer supporter
	Counselor		Conduit
	Bridge-builder		Risk-taker
	Demystifyer		
	Community Resource		
	Gambler		
	Subversive		
	Facilitator		
	Teacher		
E	Trainer	F	Learner
	Innovator		Researcher
	Facilitator		Innovator
	Learner		Facilitator

Figure 3: Multiple identities of adult educators

It seems that for analytical purposes each of these metaphors can be incorporated into the typology of the instrumental, aspirational and affective discourses. However, the nature of the metaphors suggests that the typology can itself be refined. The instrumental category can be sub-divided into those metaphors which express the traditional professional discourse and those of the newer market-orientated discourse. The aspirational category can also be sub-divided into those aspects which are part of a liberal discourse and those with more radical connotations. This refined typology is set out in Figure 4.

	Professional	**Market-orientated**
Instrumental	Facilitator	Accountant
	Learner	Entrepreneur
	Researcher	
	Co-ordinator	
	Teacher	
	Counselor	
	Trainer	
	Fund-raiser	
	Liberal	**Radical**
Aspirational	Innovator	Subversive
	Bridge-builder	Risk-taker
	Translator	Champion
	Interpreter	Pirate
	Friendly face of feminism	Campaigner
	Fixer	Demystifyer
	Community resource	Gambler
	Conduit	
Affective	Emotional Prop/Wreck	
	Ear	
	Peer Supporter	
	Moaner	

Figure 4: Modified typology of identity

Using this framework, we can analyse the complex and multiple identities of the self-chosen groups. Group A makes use primarily of metaphors from the instrumental professional discourse. The group displays an affective dimension and appears to have leanings towards liberal and radical aspirations. The label 'subversive' in this context may carry less radical connotations, given the overall positioning of this group within the professional discourse. Group B is more obviously aspirational in the way it constructs its identity, drawing equally from the repertoire of liberal and radical metaphors. In the course of the debriefing discussion, it emerged that the group members identified themselves as 'pirates' in the sense that they were prepared to take whatever was needed in order to achieve their goals. Group C, like group A, draws primarily on metaphors from the instrumental professional discourse, but with a more complex mixture of liberal and radical aspirations. This group appeared to cohere only very loosely, and lost several members to other groups in the course of the exercise. It was clear from subsequent discussion that there was substantial dissensus about the meanings of the different metaphors with which the group associated. Group D is aspirational and affective in its identity, drawing from a limited range of the liberal aspirational labels. Group E has an identity very much based in instrumental professional metaphors and situates its liberal aspirations within that professional identity. Group F offers an interesting contrast with Group E. Its use of metaphors is very similar to that of group E, and largely grounded in instrumental professional labels. It chose to represent its identity through mime and group sculpting rather than through a poster, suggesting that its members' aspiration to innovate may have been stronger than that of the other group.

Conclusion. The social, political, cultural and institutional contexts in which adult educators operate have changed very significantly over the past fifteen years. If we take seriously the claims of theorists of postmodernity about the impact of rapid and sustained change on the way that selves and identities are defined and constructed, it is necessary to examine what it means to be an adult educator in the contemporary period. From the explorations reported in this paper, it seems that there is no fixed answer to that question amongst adult educators themselves. The changes and uncertainties which they face appear to be reflected in the range of metaphors which they use to describe themselves, and in the very fact that no single metaphor adequately embraces their sense of identity With the proliferation and diversification of forms of adult education and with uncertainty as to its direction as a single field of practice, the roles, values and feelings expressed in adult educators' metaphors of self-identity are themselves increasingly ambiguous, shifting and multifaceted, as much part of the postmodern condition as responses to it.

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THE UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT
VS.
AMERICAN INDIAN SELF-DETERMINATION
A CASE STUDY OF RESISTANCE AND SOCIAL ACTION

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Abstract. Supreme Court decisions transmit an adopted and recorded history that defines social and political relationships across the generations. Social movements question the legitimacy of these histories. Adults, engaged in active resistance, can effect a recharacterization of these histories. We examine the relationship between social action and recharacterization of the events in the historical context of the American Indian struggle for self-determination.

Introduction

United States Indian law is grounded in complex historical events that shaped Indian-white relationships in the nineteenth century. Over five hundred sovereign nations were forced to resolve their differences with a single white nation through essentially white decision making principles. Tribal law was regarded by whites as no law at all. Doctrines seemingly established in early Supreme Court decisions such as sovereignty were contradicted by the Court's rejection of tribal law and tribal legal history.

The study of tribal law, United States Indian law, and social movements fueled by constant conflict cannot be studied in a historical context. Every case involving an Indian-white conflict to reach the Supreme Court tells a particular story in the context of particular historical events. In most Supreme Court decisions those events have been discarded as insignificant and irrelevant to the Court's final decision. As a result, the Court decisions reflect a body of internally inconsistent legal doctrine and a recorded history of Indian-white conflict that is the story of a dominant societies views and values. In this perspective the Court has rewritten history to support its own objectives.

The Indian struggle to hang on to the bare bones of tribal sovereignty can be seen in many resistance movements. For the most part, those movements have gone unnoticed and unrecorded. The exceptions have been those acts of resistance involving physical confrontation such as the occupation of Alcatraz and the occupation of Wounded Knee in 1973. More recently we see a record of the tribal college movement; a movement that exemplifies Indian solidarity across America (Dejong, 1993). We attempt to unravel Supreme Court stories of events that actually happened so that we might view the heart of these conflicts over time and in a historical context that is inclusive of the many sides of conflict in action.

Historical Context

On June 10, 1776 the Continental Congress appointed five men to draw up the Declaration of Independence. John Adams, Roger Sherman, Robert Livingston and Ben Franklin agreed that Thomas Jefferson should draft the document. The linchpin of the document was the demand for a government based on the consent of the governed. The vast majority of Americans were disenfranchised. For example, in New York City in 1790, only 1,209 residents out of thirty thousand met the property qualification to vote. Charles Beard asserts that no more than one hundred and sixty thousand Americans out of four million were in any way connected to the drafting and ratification of the Constitution. The vote was cast by no more than one-sixth of all white males in thirteen states. Everything hinged on who "we the people" were (Kluger, 1976). "We the people" were the influential and educated white men who shared what Woodrow Wilson called "a conscious solidarity of interests" (Kluger, 1976). Six hundred seventy-five thousand slaves resided in thirteen states that summer. One American in five was a slave. In a fundamental conflict over how the states would be represented in Congress it was agreed that each slave would represent three-fifths of a person. In reality, a few white men created an exclusionary government that did not hesitate to select property rights over human rights as the key element that would guide Supreme Court interpretation of the agreed upon document.

Where did Native America fit into this idyllic picture of "we the people?" Articles I and VI clearly restrict the government from entering into treaties with anyone other than sovereign nations. Between the years 1790 and 1870 the U.S. government entered into over three hundred and seventy treaties with Native America. Justice Taney, in his long discussion of what constituted citizenship in the case of Dred Scott 1856, speaks clearly to the differences between the legal relations between slaves and the government and Native America and the government. The Indian race,

> formed no part of colonial communities and never amalgamated with them in social connections or in government. But although they were uncivilized, they were yet a free and independent people associated together in nations or tribes, and governed by their own laws...these governments were regarded and treated as foreign governments, as much so as if an ocean had separated the read man from the white; and their freedom has constantly been acknowledged...treaties have been negotiated with them and their alliances sought in war. (Dred Scott vs. Sanford, 1856).

Justice Taney states unequivocally that any white claims to Indian land are subject to the right of Indians to occupy it "until the tribe or nation consented to cede it" (Dred Scott vs Sanford, 1856). Today there is little dispute about the fact that the federal government has used many of the six hundred unratified treaties to claim land title (Churchill, 1993, p. 391).

Unlike other areas of legal history, United States Indian law over the last one hundred and forty years lacks historical consistency and vision. It has been decided, case by case, on changing policies towards Indian-white relations (see cases referenced). These policies have not been founded in any historical context or set of legal principles. Tribal law and tribal history have been totally discarded, leaving only the perspective of a dominant society still at war with Native America today (Haring, 1994). In a series of decisions that have crippled Taney's definition of a legal relationship, Native America as sovereign nations, hold about as much real power and recognition as the states inside which they occupy federal lands. The over five thousand pieces of legislation that dictate Indian-white relations today forces us to examine the reality of self-determination.

The Indian struggle to survive attempted annihilation and continued resistance to forced assimilation is rarely recorded from an Indian perspective. Only in the last twenty-five years through national tribal unity in the building of the tribal colleges, has Native America finally gained a political voice in American politics.

Discussion

Supreme Court decisions purport to render decisions based on commonly shared understandings of cultural values and traditions. Decisions that have defined and redefined the legal relationship of Native America with dominant society are grounded in stories of dominance, superiority, conquest, and conjured up histories of culture (Pommersheim, 1995). These narratives, stories, and histories have played a powerful role in silencing what should be the interplay of multiple voices competing for power, meaning, and authorship (Kincheloe, 1991; Giroux, 1988). Careful analysis reveals assumed wisdoms and a silence sustained through the construction of a cultural terrain that takes on the appearance of emancipatory action. The overwhelming majority of these decisions reflect a history only aspired to by the dominant culture writing it. It is an atextual history that clearly shines its own light. This myopic method of writing history clearly rejects Native American beliefs about the meaning of the law or the purpose of the law within a culture.

Over the course of one hundred and sixty years, since the removal of the Cherokee from their homelands, less than a handful of adult educators have addressed their attentions or skills to the longest on-going social movement in the history of the North American continent; the movement to be free from the threat of annihilation followed by the movement to have the right to choose or reject assimilation into mainstream American culture. Even today in the wake of the tribally controlled college movement, most American adult educators remain aloof. The literature remains, for the most part, silent. Michael Newman (1994), in his book *Defining the Enemy*, tells us

> we should restore to the word "critical" the meaning of being at the edge, at the moment of truth, face to face with the enemy...we should examine the kinds of thinking and learning in action that we need to develop...in the face of evil people and inimical forces, in front of the earth movers about to knock down a forest, in front of the lines of people with guns, in conflict with union busters, in confrontation with snobs and belittlers, the despoilers and polluters-that is, in the presence of enemies (p. 55).

Like the families of the ghost dancers hunted down and massacred in a common grave by the calvary for trying to preserve their traditional learning ceremonies; like Crazy Horse, who took his people into Canada rather than turn them into an Indian Agency; like Mary and Leonard Crow Dog and Dennis Bank and Russell Means, who occupied Wounded Knee for seventy-one days in 1973 against armored tanks and helicopters; like Myles Horton and Paulo Freire, who spent their lives fighting legalized oppression; we must, as Michael Newman tells us, come face to face with the enemy.

Because most forms of oppression are legitimized through the law and because case law is used to train every generation of lawyers, we must immerse ourselves in critically questioning the application of law and the results of that application. We must analyze, critically, the process of recharacterization used by the Supreme Court to give the appearance of change, when in fact they have only given a new name to an old policy. Phylliss Cunningham argues that we need to "apply a blowtorch of critical inquiry to ourselves" (Newman, 1994, p. 34). Ward Churchill, considered by most to be radical, questions the reality of self-determination. Is it yet another illusion meant to disguise and deceive us about who really holds the controls? Guy Senese (1986) argues that as long as the Bureau of Indian Affairs write the rules by which contracts are entered into, self-determination will remain an illusion (p. 153-164).

The Montana State University Adult Education Program is one example of what a critical exchange of cultural knowledge can do to empower educators to rewrite an inclusive history. Under the leadership of Dr. Robert Fellenz and Dr. Gary Conti, an entire generation of teachers, Indian and white, are talking with each other for the first time in the history of Montana. Both Conti and Fellenz see commonalities in the principles of adult learning and the philosophies of Indian learning. Both see the tribal college as having a unique mission in the quest for spiritual renewal (Conti and Fellenz, 1995).

It is time that we, as adult educators, take a walk away from our institutions and our desks to find the real stories behind Supreme Court decisions. Because of the overriding federal presence in Indian education today, it is time we reach out and ask how can we help in defining the enemy.

Conclusion

The legal history of Native American struggle for freedom of self-determination is silenced between the lines of Supreme Court decisions rendered for the singular purpose of supporting and perpetuating shifting federal policies that define Indian-white relations. It is time we expose the ideological assumptions in that legal history to critical analysis. It is time to rewrite, case by case, a textual history that develops a much needed picture of a long and sustained struggle. It is time that we question the history we have inherited. Without critical consciousness of the complicated relationships between ideology, power, economic, and political interests we will continue to be silent partners in the writing of our own history. The right to self-determination is a right easily surrendered to a sack full of unkept promises. Like the buffalo on the prairies, it can become but an image living in the eye of memory.

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WOMEN'S CONTINUOUS LEARNING IN THE WORKPLACE

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Abstract. *My study begins to explore the working-learning of women who describe themselves as "continuous learners". A major initial finding suggests that women's workplace learnings intersect at three dimensions: (1) the intentions of the woman at a particular time in a particular community; (2) the disjuncture between the woman's previous biography of experience and the situation immediately confronting her; and (3) the positionality of how a woman construes herself as a knowledge creator in relation to the object of knowing and the general knowledge community in which her learning is entwined. Overall, my findings suggest that the workplace is potentially rich with developmental possibilities, when an individual exercises autonomy and creativity in naming what is worth doing, what is valuable knowledge, and what is her idiosyncratic way of constructing this knowledge.*

Introduction

The proliferating literature on continuous learning in the workplace explores the intertwining of pedagogy and production. Some of this literature presents learning as a tool for the organization's competitive advantage, to produce a flexible, personally accountable staff who can thrive in chaos. Concepts such as "systems thinking", uncovering "mental models", "team learning" (Senge, 1990), "action-reflection" (Marsick and Watkins, 1993), "double loop learning" (Argyris, 1993), "deep learning", and "generative language" (Kofman and Senge, 1995) are promoted to enhance workers' predilection to innovate, self-assess, and enter open, sharing, honest, authentic, democratic, ideally communicative relationships (i.e. see Senge et al., 1994). The goal is to liberate workers to participate to their full potential as continuously innovative and thoughtfully critical in the workplace.

Other writers continue a critical debate about educative possibilities in a workplace environment configured by "destructive and divisive economic and social arrangements" (Hart, 1993, p. 19). There can be little doubt that life within workplace organizations significantly shapes the principles people come to believe, the knowledge they create, the habits they develop, the confidence in their own judgment and competent action they exercise, the thinking and creating abilities they are challenged to invoke, and the selves they develop. How do people develop in today's workplaces? What knowledge do they construct in their continuous learning? Do they grow and become free?

This study focuses on the meaning of workplace learning for women. Over the past two decades, a substantial body of literature has established that women's experiences and ways of relating to their worlds are distinctly different than men's. Since the oft-cited study of Belenky, Clinchy, Goldberger, and Tarule (1986), it has become well-established that women have a distinct "way of knowing". Their work-lives and work-learning are woven into family and other relations with a distinct fluidity and complexity (Lynn and Todoroff, 1995), and are marked by struggles that are crucial to understand their learning and growth.

Methodology of the Study. Using a life history approach, my study asks: 'What meanings do women create from their workplace experiences?', 'How do women who describe themselves as "continuous learners" come to know what they value most in the spaces they consider their workplace?' and 'How do they change as a way of practice?'. Eighteen women participated in a series of reflective conversations exploring their workplace learning over the course of their adulthood. In the interview conversations, women recounted their work-life biography, using narrative and critical incidents that interpreted the meanings they gave to those work experiences they named as "learning". The conversations were transcribed and analysed to create a trustworthy work-learning biography of each woman. Patterns and relationships emerged to form general categories, then themes among respondents were invoked through cross-case analysis (Patton, 1990). Core categories were identified (Strauss and Corbin, 1990) then validated with individual participants.

The Participants. The women ranged in age from 34 to 56 and had worked in diverse occupations as professional practitioners and administrators (nursing, banking, school teaching, community development, animation film-making, therapeutic massage, law, Christian ministry, human resources). Five had worked mostly in government settings, five in corporations, five in community, health, or social service agencies, and the others in small professional firms. All had experienced at least three significant changes in the type of position, work, and work environment they had experienced. Two were single; five were single mothers; eleven were married, five with children. All had been involved formally or informally as educators in some way as part of their work. All described themselves as "continuous learners".

The Findings. Below, I have listed some of my initial findings. Because of my perception of its importance and its currency in my work, I have spent more time developing the three themes of intention, disjuncture, and positionality. These findings reflect the current point of my research; they are, however, emergent and continually changing.

Finding #1: Women configure learning through Intention, Disjuncture, and Positionality: Three dimensions in particular emerged from these women's work-learning biographies -- intention, disjuncture, and positionality. These intersect to influence an individual's configuration of and participation in a particular experience as learning. Intention, what a woman seeks in life generally or from the work specifically, determines what she wants to know and accomplish and what directs her attention to engage a particular experience. Disjuncture, the gap between intention and consciousness, alerts the individual and propels the impulse to know. Positionality is the process of negotiating position between what is perceived as self and what is perceived as the "other" -- the text of knowing, which includes elements of an experience, knowledge community, teacher, directive, dilemma, or role model.

Intention: women seeking challenge, meaningful connections, and self-knowledge. Intention is purpose, an "I will!" resolution sparked by caring enough for something to seek it. The urge to seek determines the object of learning, which focuses attention upon particular experiences as worthy of engagement for the purpose of making meaning. Intentions are not pre-formed, single ambitions but shifting life purposes; they evolve in a fluid improvisation of self, circumstance, and commitments. Intentions shape perceptions. Madeleine Grumet (1992) explains that "the intentionality of all conscious acts focuses our gaze upon some object, real or imagined" (p. 29). These women's stories show that they learn continuously in the workplace, but what they see and name as "learning" is what they *want* to make meaning of. They define their knowledge production as what they determine relevant to their life intentions. Intentions are not produced autonomously, nor in a vacuum, nor by social determination. As Anthony Cohen argues, "the self is not passive as a subject of society and of culture; it has agency, it is active, proactive, and creative. Constituted by society and made competent by culture, individuals make their worlds through their acts of perception and interpretation" (Cohen, 1994, p. 115). The women in this study indicated three broad intentions that appeared to significantly shape their workplace learning: *(a) The intention to constantly seek new challenge* . Many of the women expressed a powerful need for challenge, intensity of engagement, and even passion in their work. They asked, 'What else is there?', 'What lies beyond?'. Women used strong imagery to describe their condition in a job without forward-moving challenge: "I become depressed and more and more lethargic, until I get desperate," "If I don't have change, I wither and die". They welcomed assignments that enlarged their awareness and expressed new capacities of self. They "stretched" responsibilities: What other ways can I do this? Without new challenges to exercise and expand their developing understandings, women became "thirsty for something new to learn", often leaving a job or diverting their creative energies to projects outside the workplace of their employment.

(b) The intention to make rich authentic connections with other people. Many of the women were searching for meaningful communicative connections in the workplace. They talked of their

struggles learning to listen, to put self aside and enter the other's world empathetically, curiously, courageously, and non-judgmentally. Several referred to their deepening sense of others' significance in their own work, not only appreciating others' knowledge and perspective but coming to understand their central purpose as *servant* to others.

© *The intention to understand one's self, and to integrate this authentic self into the workplace.* Above any other sphere in their lives, the women in this study celebrated their movement towards deeper, more integrative, discriminating, and inclusive understanding of self. They suggested that coming-to-know self through work is incremental and recursive, not transformative. The most valued learnings about self through work are learning to trust the inner voice, to rely on intuition, and to name knowledge one constructs. Finding a stable core in a destabilized workworld appears to be a central motive for coming-to-know self. Women learn to protect self by deliberately naming boundaries and discerning the margins that define their self as separate from the community. A significant characteristic of the movement to self-knowledge appears to be developing and becoming comfortable expressing a spiritual self in work relationships.

Disjuncture: Learning as seeking to resolve difficulty or seeking to open possibilities. A disjuncture is a realization of a problem in an individual's understanding of experience, which creates a tension the individual seeks to resolve -- a dilemma requiring decision, an irregularity, a piece of information incongruent with previous understandings, a surprising outcome. Jarvis (1992) believes that when people are "confronted with a situation with which their meaning system cannot cope, they are forced to ask questions, and disjuncture - the need to seek meaning, to learn - arises" (p. 165). His conceptualization is based on a "disequilibrium" model (Prawat, 1993), which assumes the act of seeking understanding as problem-solving, or seeking freedom from difficulty. Some of the women adopt this stance to the workplace. But others actively try to interrupt the status quo of equilibrium, seeking freedom through imaginative possibility. These introduced disjuncture through their own risk-taking, asking questions, deliberately making the familiar strange. There was always a threshold of tolerance, however: rupturing incidents in the workplace were not usually "transformative" but more typically were interpreted as unpleasant interpersonal conflicts, or signals to escape a "no fit" or threatening situation. Conversely, the disjunctures resulting in learning are often perceived as self-confirmatory and joyfully challenging.

Positionality: Inside, outside, one-up, one-down, world shaper, meaning maker. However a woman positions herself relative to the other which is the potential object of knowing (as determined by a disjuncture between intention and existing knowledge) partly shapes her learning. Her position might be more open and vulnerable, or more closed and protective, relative to the person, dilemma, task, object, or self-assessment that causes disjuncture. Women illustrated a willingness to accept a "learning stance", which in simple power dynamics is what Tannen (1995) would call a "one-down position".The positional relationship is shaped by giving and accepting power, and is constructed partly by the contextual, sociocultural, and political dynamics of the context. Some women position themselves to a new experience or knowledge community as problem-solvers and world-shapers; others as question-raisers and meaning-makers. Positionality is influenced by personal agency, generated by a sense of self as knowledge-creator, and self as more or less powerful than the challenges one confronts. A positional pattern in these women's work-histories was a movement towards centering and affirming the self and finding knowledge within to act upon the workworld without. Positionality is evident in the choice of role models, the risks women venture, the people and information they listen to, the alternate perspectives they accept, and their extent and nature of participation in a community.

Finding #2: Workplace learning is recursive. The women in my study confirmed that their learning evolved in more "long, circuitous, circumscribed, and holistic" ways (Baskett, and Marsick, 1992, p. 12) than workplace training often allows. Learning is a continual circling back and folding-in of self-understanding to embody new ways of being. Workplace learning is not a process of "acquiring skills" like Post-It Notes, or filling knowledge gaps or "needs". Learning is usually not pre-planned, nor pre-formed and then "transferred". Learning unfolds within the task itself and continues to unfold in the reflective re-visitations of the experience. Learning is not thought of as discrete competencies, but understood holistically in terms of the developing self.

Finding #3: Learning is woven among work and life in ways that are difficult to unravel. Most women's sense of work was attached to many contexts and types of activity in domestic, psychological, intimate, social, and spiritual spheres. The learning path itself was difficult to recall and articulate: once knowledge became embodied or tacitly embedded in practice the process seemed buried. A work "place" -- even for women who spend long periods working at home -- was typically pictured as "out there", attached to employing organizations. The women all stressed the extraordinary developmental significance and personal sustenance of their work. They also talked of the difficulties and their continual search to integrate their "work" and "non-work" selves.

Finding #4: Women learn through projects: Women indicated that meaningful projects (which made "a contribution" in the woman's terms), and in which they had creative freedom to plan their own activity and directions, were key sources of learning. Such projects were frequently cited as presenting steep, exciting challenges that demanded learning. Projects developed a momentum of energy that motivated herculean effort and commitment, and sustained the creative process of learning. What women valued when the project ended was their invigorated spirit and discovery of certain personal capabilities. The material knowledge constructed during the project (i.e. that could be transferred to another endeavor) was not as valued. The thrill of the chase was what they sought, not the kill.

Finding #5: Women reflect in complex ways: Organizational learning literature reifies verbalized reflection. However, the important reflections of most women in my study appeared to be intensely private meditations. The "in-action" parts of reflection (described by Schon, 1987) happen as fleeting notes to the meta-cognitive self. As one woman put it, the minute you leave the action to enter the intellectually distanced state of observing and analysing your "self" in action, you lose the intuitive flow. To get back you have to relax and let go, like dropping into the world of a book when you're reading. You lose a sense of clock time and attachment to the material world and totally sublimate yourself into the sensual world demanded by the activity confronting you. This is where the important embodied learning happens. Reflection later is the sort of script-playing that scrutinizes, second-guesses, self-admonishes, self-supports, restories, but most of all asks, 'Why?' and 'What did it mean?'. Dialogue was valued for support, being listened to, asking questions, comparing notes, or "lightening up" (relaxation helps get one unstuck or approach problems with sudden, fresh, intuitive grasps). Systematic reflection through talking or articulating perspectives was viewed as laboriously slow, inadequate for understanding, and often structured meanings artificially. Better avenues were listening to others' stories or watching other people in their own time and in their own language, much of it silent. Learning to listen involved interrupting one's own agenda, flow of thought, or sense of productivity and becoming present to the other.

Finding #6: Women's learning is shaped by the systems they define as their work. Women's identity, visions, and scope of knowledge-seeking conformed to their job parameters.Those who identified their self with a large domain of activity sought to understand and extend themselves into a "big picture". Others focused their learning on the complex micro-systems in front of them (such as the client facing them and the intersubjective communicative encounters with this client). All sought to "stretch": some stretching horizontally to seek broader scope, others moving vertically to seek deeper meaning.

Finding #7: Women believe their workplace learning makes them "incongruent" with workplace demands: Many women who had done much reflection over the course of their work-life-learning careers had arrived at a point of withdrawal from the work-world (i.e. belonging to organizational life) and had come to ground self in an inner world from where they reached out to teach or help.

Others had withdrawn from intimidation, disillusionment, or frustration. They felt they couldn't continue the "fight" to find alignment between their own uncoiling, authentic selves and the organization's demands. Asking "why" questions and attending to the here-and-now were seen as keys to learning. However women also saw this attitude as incongruent with organizational demands for fast-paced productivity and results-oriented innovations. Some of the most learning-oriented women noted that they were not successful in terms of status or salary, and the knowledge they valued did not seem valuable to their employing organizations. Most had chosen to follow their own search for learning despite the lack of reward, sometimes even leaving their jobs.

Finding #8: Women learn to name and confront thorny work-learning-life issues. Women struggled to find release and support for their creative initiatives in learning and working in workplace bureaucracies; to balance a need for security and a need for freedom in their work and workplace; and to compromise or reconcile their "authentic" selves with personally dissonant workplace conditions like patriarchal structures, shallow codified knowledge, an official discourse incapable of naming the complexities of the material reality they observe, terrifying politics, repressive measures masquerading as emancipatory initiatives (such as "team learning" that is accountable to pre-determined management objectives), an intolerably fast pace, and behavioral norms emphasizing style, directness, and instrumental productivity. At the time of this writing, all but two of the eighteen women were seriously exploring self-employment ventures.

Finding #9: Women learn to name and defend their own learning process. All the women had developed distinct learning strategies to help them approach amorphous tasks or concepts: finding a starting point, actively seeking informational and supportive help and resources, naming the steps of the process they experienced as they constructed knowledge, and creating a space of comfort for themselves within the ambiguity. Most had developed the confidence that "I can learn anything" and dived into new learning opportunities. These risks were taken cautiously within the boundaries of personal safety that most set for themselves. If something didn't "fit" their existing values and beliefs about their own capabilities, they often avoided it. (All the women also were avid readers and participants in formal continuing education.)

Finding Women's lifeworlds, not their employing organizations, is the focus of their learning. The women in this study directed their energies to work and learn in terms of their connection with and service to the needs of people they care about, not the survival of the organization. They frequently indicated a will to submit to something that transcended themselves in order to learn. This something was a project that served others in an apparently meaningful way, a call to a vocation, a human hunger they perceived, or a Higher Power of some conception.Their learning was propelled not from a desire for mastery and control but from a need to understand, find peace, and seek deeper wisdom. Their search crossed the boundaries of many organizations (including marriage and parenthood) existing simultaneously and sequentially in their memoried biographies.

However, from the organizational focus, learning in the workplace is spatially and temporally bounded by the organization's contours. The individual's learning becomes understood as a curious phenomenon that punches a timeclock and is notable only through observable behaviors like dialogue and performance outcomes. Learning becomes defined according to competency that benefits the organization, according to what the organization values. Learning tends to be recognized mostly in knowledge that the organization has access to, knowledge which can be spoken, deconstructed, and shared (i.e. through dialogue), rather than knowledge which remains tacit and embedded in practice, social relationships, visions, intuition, emotional responses, or spiritual divinations. Learning from the organization's perspective is that which can be "fostered", "facilitated" or otherwise schooled by the well-intentioned researcher or educator, rather than that which flows ineffably and naturally on multiple levels while a person breathes her world, organizes and makes sense. The understanding of "workplace" from the organizational view is confined to itself; a woman's fluid sense of self moving through the workplaces of her lives is excluded.

Implications for the Continuous Learning in the Workplace. My findings confirm the complexity of workplace learning and the importance of work and workplace in self-development. Work is crucial terrain where women map journeys to seek meaning, identity, and connection in the world. But the fact that women's intentions determine what and how they perceive, value, engage in, and learn from workplace experience has profound implications. Some intentions may be aligned with the organization's objectives of innovation or open dialogue, but the focus of the learner for new challenge, creative passion, meaningful connection, service to others, self-knowledge, and self-expression directs how and what women learn in ways not necessarily aligned with organizational productivity and competitive advantage.

My study prompts some of the same questions about the assumptions and findings of workplace learning literature that other adult educators (Finger and Woolis, 1994; Hart, 1992, 1993; Noble, 1990; Welton, 1991) raise: To what ends are professional pedagogues posturing as engineers of "learning organizations" situating themselves? What kinds of knowledge are valued and encouraged most, and what kinds are ignored? Whose learning and development is the focus? Whose discourse predominates? What sorts of human selves are being molded or repressed by organizational "learning" cultures? What are the justifications and implications of emphasizing, in such a powerful institution of learning as the paycheck provider, values such as innovation, "continuous improvement," "team" work in its diverse manifestations, "systems thinking," and critical reflection? What do organizational efforts to teach such values and perspectives produce?

My findings seem to question inquiry from the broad vantage point of the workplace organization, rather than from the microworlds of individual lives. Perhaps in refraining from past excesses of psychologizing, studies of workplace learning have shifted entirely to address issues of systems, culture, and group learning. But what subtle distinctions of individuality influence what it means for different people to learn "continuously" in a workplace? What is the meaning of "workplace" and what is the place of work-learning in the lifeworld of an individual?

The purpose and idea of "continuous learning" promotes a belief in innovation to keep up with constant change. The individual is always striving (therefore always in deficit) to be more, better, faster. The inordinate priority placed on "critical reflection," suggests that if people could just detect their dysfunctional and paralysing taken-for-granted assumptions and deep-seated beliefs, they'd be free to find more creative ways to frame the problems of practice and improve their workplace performance. Emphasis is often placed on problem-framing (Schon, 1983) and problem-solving or "detecting error" (Argyris, 1993). But this deficit framework does not fit the holistic, self-affirming approaches that shape women's workplace learning.

Finally, my study suggests that current literature in workplace learning needs to better understand the individual's meanings of work and learning. What seems missing from the literature is an appreciation of how the circles of people's lives and learning cross between family, work, household duty, personal relationships, play, and spirituality. My study suggests that, eventually, women find themselves asking difficult questions about the purposes of tasks and projects in their work: what is worth doing? and whose reference point is the best source of criteria for deciding? As their values begin to shift from allegiance to organizationally-approved activity and learning more to "inner voices" defining the purpose and priority of work and what is worth knowing, many women appear to move towards activity and learning focusing more upon understanding others and self, and participating in growing connective communities, than on concrete material production. This orientation is not usually congruent with organizational visions, missions, and continuous learning initiatives.

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WOMEN'S LEARNING: A KALEIDOSCOPE

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Abstract. The purpose of this study was to identify and synthesize themes from dissertations on women's learning in settings other than those where women are students in higher education. One theme is explicated briefly to demonstrate the richness of the themes.

Introduction. This paper continues our systematic consideration of the literature on women's learning. Our first focus, presented at AERC last year, was to identify, synthesize and critique journal articles on adult women's learning in higher education settings (Flannery and Hayes, 1995a). However, the articles on adult women's learning in higher education were difficult to locate and few in number. Furthermore, the scholarship was often based on questionable assumptions about women's learning. (Hayes and Flannery, 1995b; Flannery and Hayes, 1995a). Our second focus was to turn to dissertation studies to augment the limited published scholarship on women's learning. This pursuit was divided into two parts: women's learning as students in higher education settings (Hayes and Flannery, 1995c; Hayes and Flannery, 1996) and women's learning as other than students in higher education.

The goal of the present research is to identify and synthesize dissertation studies that explore adult women's learning in a kaleidoscope of settings outside of higher education. We have selected the metaphor of the kaleidoscope because the image refers to items such as bits of glass, beads, etc. held loosely at the end of a rotating tube, which are continually changing forms, reflected in mirrors set at angles to each other, interacting, complex, teeming, varied. From our work thus far, women's learning is a kaleidoscope of interacting and overlapping aspects. While our attempts to articulate findings may appear as symmetrical as the forms seen in a kaleidoscope, they are in reality never completely discrete one from the other, and are varied for different women in different circumstances. Specifically, in this paper, we will a) describe the dissertation review including the search process, the nature of the literature, and the topics addressed by the dissertations; and b) explicate one theme briefly to demonstrate one facet of the kaleidoscope.

Significance. Adult learning theory and feminist theory support the proposition that adult women may have distinctive needs and preferences as learners. However, we discovered found that scholarship on such differences is extremely limited (Hayes and Flannery, 1995b). Furthermore, existing scholarship presents a potentially biased picture of women's learning. As Edwards (1993) observes, most researchers "approach the subject from the perspective of 'education' rather than that of mature women students...[studies] are concerned with the interests of the education institutions - reaching and retaining more students" (p. 9). A focus on the interests of educators may lead to a lack of understanding and devaluation of the full range of women's learning experiences. Our systematic review of dissertation research that encompasses learning in diverse settings, often outside of formal education and based on the perspectives of the women themselves, is an effort toward developing a more inclusive theory of women's learning. This theory will go beyond the limitations of dominant perspectives on women's learning that reflect limited and often negative assumptions (Hayes and Smith, 1994).

The Search Process. Dissertations for the study were identified through a search of *Dissertation Abstracts* from January 1982 through March 1995, slightly more than a ten year span. Various combinations of the descriptors women, learning, adult education were used to obtain abstracts of potentially relevant studies. The abstracts were examined and dissertations which did not focus on women's learning were eliminated. These included research on women as educators or administrators (not as learners), program development, and studies not specific to women. Next, the remaining abstracts were reviewed for inclusion according to the following criteria: a) a focus on adult women, defined as women over the age of twenty-five, or as adult women by the dissertation author; b) did not deal with women who were students in higher education (these studies were analyzed in a separate study); and c) met a description of learning proposed by Smith (1982) as having three aspects: process (how learning occurs); product (what is the outcome of the learning?); and function (aspects which influence learning, such as gender roles or motivation) (Smith, 1982). We also included only studies of women in North America (however, studies of women in other regions were very limited). A total of twenty-one dissertations met the criteria, were obtained and used as the data base for the study. (Several other dissertations met the criteria, but were not available from the lending institutions.) One master's thesis, Joyce (1993), cited as a source in several dissertations, was also included because of its potential value and relevance.

General Description of Dissertations. The qualitative paradigm was the predominant research perspective, used by seventeen of the twenty-one researchers. This emphasis on the use of qualitative data and the interest in studying women's lives is perhaps not too surprising since most of the studies were completed in the later part of the search period, the early 1990's. One dissertation used a qualitative approach with three instruments administered for triangulation purposes; one used qualitative and quantitative techniques, and three dissertations used quantitative methodology.

The review yielded stories of women's learning in a kaleidoscope of settings, with women of incredible diversity of culture, class and race, and a myriad of learning processes. Examples include economically disadvantaged African American and Caucasian women in a basic skills class, reflecting on their previous learning (Baird, 1994); learning styles of Native Alaskan women Community Health Aides (Berner, 1994); the learning of working class Appalachian women active in community organizations (Bingham, 1995); Latino women's learning through Study Circles (Clausen-Hook, 1992); working class Caucasian women learning on the shop floor as trade apprentices (Downey, 1993); women in a religious order learning to change as their church changed (Gideon, 1985); older widowed women's learning to make decisions (Greaves, 1992); learning and life events of marriage, separation and divorce (Louis, 1985); women's learning through play (Melamed, 1985); immigrant women's learning a second language (Peirce, 1993). .

Some of the major themes which emerged included the many facets of self -esteem in relation to learning, perspective transformations in different ways and in different contexts, the role of context in learning, the importance of reflection in learning, the influences of others on learning, the diversity of learning experiences among women, and the intersection of class, culture and gender as they shape women's learning.

Discussion of a Selected Theme. Due to the brevity of this paper, we have selected one theme to demonstrate the richness found in these dissertations. The theme is the influence of previous experiences on the women's learning. As with all kaleidoscopes, the theme cannot be wholly extracted from its place and interaction with the entirety of women's learning, and while looking at this one aspect, we note how it cannot be viewed in isolation.

In our findings, influences of previous experiences are ensconced in the larger theme of identity. "Identity is about being as well as doing. It is about who we are and all the forces, experiences and influences that created us. It is both culture and nature; about who we have become and where we are located. It is constructed, chosen, and includes givens as well as having personal attributes" (Moon, 1993, p 21-22). Identity for feminists also includes one's power, privilege and vulnerability to oppression. Issues of identity and new and old learning are rife in the narratives that illustrate the influences of the women's past experiences. So too, the intersections of class, culture, and gender are particularly apparent.

We will present four aspects of previous experiences' influence on women's learning. First, for some women, their past experiences of society and school are in conflict with family values, with language, cultural values, customs, beliefs and behaviors, invalidating the foundation of their sense of identity and belonging within their ethnic group. To be assimilated is to give up part of oneself, one's identity . According to Cecilia, a Mexican-American woman, to be assimilated is to be treated as second class by the dominant society and to bring shame to one's family. "When any part of one's identity is lost, what remains is an empty place...you are left with a hole" (Clasen-Hook, 1992, p.182).

Latino women, in a dissertation on using Study Circles to help Latino women learn (Clasen-Hook, 1992), contrast what they had learned at home with what they had learned in school Cecilia "comes from a large, close-knit family where a complex web of family relationships and family - centered responsibilities and roles are the norm" (p. 165). Spanish was spoken at home, but the father made sure she learned English also. In school Spanish was forbidden. "I remember... when my cousin, who did not speak English, and I were talking in Spanish. A teacher came up, yelled at us and sent us to the principal's office for speaking Spanish. I remembered feeling ashamed.....There was a lot of grief and anguish going through the process of becoming fully functional in a second language. And... it wasn't the language my parents and grandparents talked. This learning was very much tied to my identity and had to be repressed" (p. 166). Cecilia learned to be ashamed of being Mexican, something was wrong with speaking Spanish, with being of brown skin color, with the beliefs and culture of being Mexican.

Lydia learned that as a Puerto Rican she was powerless. School and society taught self-blame and an educational powerlessness. "We Puerto Ricans are a bad seed ('*la mala semilla*'); we can't change things" (p. 246). ... "I used to be so ashamed for being Puerto Rican...because I didn't see any discipline, any respect, any education...I was insecure. And then, I was ugly, I was worthless. I was dumb. There was no good reason in my mind why I was on earth...my intellectual development was prevented by a discontinuity between school, society and family beliefs" (p.256). This contributes to a lack of positive self-image and feelings of low self esteem.

Second, being female within their Latino cultures was another limitation for the women, and one which still influences their learning. Cecelia described how in her culture she was expected to fit into the mold of what was expected of her as a woman. "There was so much expected of us in terms of being subservient. I didn't like that women stayed home, being child bearers, having lots of children, had to do all the cleaning and had to accept the hard life they had. That was the role model I had. My mother, and grandmothers, lots of aunts, they just didn't have a lot of freedom as women, and it seemed that their role as women had already been predetermined even if they had other dreams. There weren't any other possibilities " (p. 168).

Lydia's family encouraged interdependence and self-sufficiency, and placed great value on education, but as a Puerto Rican woman she was not allowed to continue schooling after high school. There was a double standard for women. I couldn't go - a little girl going to stay at home until married. My brother went with father's blessing to college. For Rita too, there was gender discrimination: "I wanted to go to school, but it was far away and I would have to walk too long. My father wouldn't let me go so far. Besides, what did I need to go to school for?" (p. 257)

In Esperanza's family "everyone is uneducated. When I said I wanted to study, I wasn't allowed to go to away to school because my mother always felt that if 'una senorita' (a virgin) wanted to go to school she should not leave the house to go to college because that was bad. People would think you weren't a virgin. It was just against all the rules".

Yarbi, in her thirties, raised in a rural part of Puerto Rico, described how being brought up as a female was to be under strict surveillance and not permitted much freedom. "W e women have to stay in our places and behave decently, otherwise we are bad. ... But how much do we need to sacrifice? How much are we expected to give and give and give. It never ends. Men are not asked so much. I feel that machismo, the notion of women always being in their place and the strict ways of bringing up girls...causes a lot of insecurity. Not permitting women to be themselves, limiting what they can and cannot do causes a lot of problems and internal conflicts which we have for the rest of our lives. It is extremely difficult to liberate ourselves from these problems. I think it is a burden we carry for the rest of our lives because it's difficult to be come totally free from the values and restrictions we've been through. To simply understand what this oppression has done to us is not enough. I think we have to confront this and deal with these issues all of the time, all of our lives" (p. 170).

The insecurity and inability to be completely free of gender prescriptions, which Yarbi refers to above, is the third influence of previous experiences drawn from the dissertations. Two dissertations present similar yet somewhat different examples of women trying to unlearn the gender roles attached to being married, and to learn new roles. In one case the women were in the process of divorce (Louis, 1985); in the other case, they had been recently widowed (Greaves, 1992).

Much confusion stems from the dependent role women play in society , a role these women could no longer play without a husband on whom to depend. They had to learn to move from dependence to independence and self reliance. Role behavior appropriate in the past was no longer relevant and meanings through which the women had defined themselves in relation to the world became meaningless. Such role change was a painful process and anxiety producing, with women revealing emotions such as, "oh God, please send someone to rescue me," and "I'm scared to death" (p. 43). Most of the women had belonged to a traditional, couple oriented world for most of their adult years. Due to the divorce, women were forced into learning: "I found it very confusing because you grow up and develop a certain pattern of everything. It's like a major explosion. You take it all apart and you start over again: that I'll discard and this I'll put in that" (p. 43). "One of the things that I have to learn to cope with is to not feel ashamed of who I am" (p. 49)..

Women, age 60 or older, who had been widowed (Greaves, 1992) had difficulty learning to make decisions after the deaths of their husbands. The issue wasn't with decision-making at face value; it was really with how well they had learned the prevailing role of being a wife for their generation. From childhood on, they were schooled to let men make decisions about buying and selling houses, taking care of repairs, and finances. The decision-making required of them as widows meant struggling to give up their significant role as wives and take on the role of widow.

Significantly, the transformation of self into widow was mediated by the extent to which women had been excluded from or included in some of the husband's decision making.

Previous experiences which influence women's present learning may have been gender-related in another, different way. Some women may have learned to engage in acceptable male behavior or to cope with such behavior in order to engage in their own learning pursuits. This is the fourth aspect we will present.

In a study of contextual learning of executive women in higher education (Stepp, 1993), one president said she felt that her strength of character and talent and ability had come from her father and her grandfather. She relayed these vignettes about her father's influence as a mentor. "My father taught me not to be limited by being a woman, so I learned to shoot and to ride, and to take my knocks. He once was a boxer, so he taught me how to box. My father actually put boxing gloves on me when I was five years old. ... I had gotten hit in the nose by a neighborhood bully and all I remember my father saying is to get up and do it again. You might think these are crazy experiences for a woman and I thank God. When I first got my driver's license, I rolled over a car three times. A mountain road had washed out, and we hit that part of the road and the car just lost its footing. We went rolling. My father arrives and I was still in a state of shock and kind of figuring out where I was and he said, 'Okay, well looks like she is alright, no blood, you drive me home.' There was no, oh you poor little girl" (p. 181-182). As Stepp (1993) says, "these were really important learning issues in her life" (p. 182).

Kerr (1988), studying the learning of women scientists, recounts the story of one scientist whose research is on developing concepts about patterns at the organismal level, who wants to move in new research directions, into a cellular level of study. She is not confident about this move. First, the techniques are different and more difficult. Second, she realizes this new emphasis is a field dominated by men. She characterizes these men as "macho and very aggressive." This constitutes "a threat". "I was sure I was going to get creamed if I tried to do that without really knowing what I was doing... I was compelled to do so, but recognized, from graduate school experiences, it is intellectual suicide to get into an area over my head and where I am intimidated by the people." (p. 65).

As we examined facets of previous influences on women's learning, culture, class and gender appeared to be significantly intertwined in the women's narratives. This was most explicit in studies such as Clasen-Hook's (1992) research on Latina women. On closer examination, the other studies also reveal how culture and class shape women's gender-related identities and experiences. For example, in Louis's (1985) study, the women's dependent roles as wives suggested a middle-class value system and a certain economic status that allowed most of the women to rely on their husbands for monetary support. In Kerr's (1988) study, women scientists, highly educated and well-paid, worked in a culture that is traditionally male. Their learning was influenced by, and sometimes emerged, as a response to the tensions they experienced as "outsiders" in this culture. There is a need for much deeper analysis of how gender, class, and culture intersect in women's learning.

Conclusion. Theory and research on women's learning has been dominated by a focus on formal educational settings and mainstream populations. This review attempts to broaden our limited views into a kaleidoscope of multiple prisms and colors of women's learning. Such a broadened perspective helped us better understand the full range of women's learning in all the complexities of their lives and biographies. We've found that even an initial focus on one theme draws us out into other directions and opens windows on multiple dimensions of women's learning. Alternately, we've realized that one facet of women's learning may be seen from many different perspectives. In time we hope to use this broadened perspective to create learning opportunities that respond to the diversity as well as commonalities among women as learners.

NOTE: A bibliography of dissertations in the analysis, including those cited in this paper, will be handed out at the AERC presentation.

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The Impact of Language Functioning Among African American Adult Learners in an Adult Basic Education Classroom

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Abstract: Dialogue taken from a focus group interview with 6 African Americans and one Latina woman were reviewed and analyzed to determine the significance of black dialect on learning. 'Group think' emerged as a construct that allowed for communalism and sharing of their polyryhthmic realities. While they had their own thoughts, they associated with one another based on their common understanding of what is was like to be a minority in this society. Language analysis revealed episodes of dysfluent speaking patterns as well as many characteristics of black dialect which did not interfere with communication throughout the dialogue.

Introduction. The dialects used within the African Diaspora are as diverse as the people who use them. Terminology used to describe these differences are just as varied. In the United States alone, terms like Ebonics, Black English, Black Vernacular and Black Language have been used interchangeably (LeMoine, 1995; Smith, 1970; Taylor, 1986; Williams & Wolfram, 1982). While these terms are used interchangeably, there are unique factors attributed to each. Research conducted has often categorized these dialects according to language disorders or language differences affecting communication and learning among children in K-12 programs. There has been limited research conducted to determine the effect that Black dialect usage has upon learning and the lived experiences (polyrhythmic realities) of adult learners.

Purpose. The intent of this study was to examine Black dialect usage and its function among African American learners in an adult basic education program. Language sampling obtained through narratives are used to determine if there is a correlation between language structure, communication effectiveness, and the polyrhythmic realities of the adult learner (Brown, 1990; Sheared, 1994).

Methods and Techniques. A combination of qualitative (Glasser and Strauss, 1967), Africentric Feminist (Hill-Collins, 1990) and quantitative research (Patton, 1990) methods were used. A total of six African American (AA) adults and one Latina attending adult basic education programs were interviewed in a focus group. There were two African American males, four African American females and one Latina female. They had been involved in the program anywhere from three months to four years.

Through a series of guided questions, the participants were asked to discuss the reasons they attended the program, and to describe their experiences in the program. The researchers reviewed the transcripts from the focus group discussion. Speech and language sample analysis of the narratives were performed to determine structure and content (Miller and Chapman, 1985). While the students voices were analyzed the message they presented was not taken apart for the analysis (Hill-Collins, 1990). Themes were derived from the narratives through constant comparative analysis.

Discussion. Black dialect has unique structure and form that has its foundation in the continent of Africa. The passage of Africans from Africa to other continents has changed the surface structure of the languages spoken by the various cultures and ethnic groups while maintaining its deep structures (LeMoine, 1995; Smith 1970). Upon the forced arrival of Africans in America, they had to learn a new language in order to communicate with one another, as well as with their 'masters' while living in slavery. In order to survive in this new environment, an African American dialect based upon both the African language forms, the 'code of survival',and European American language forms developed. These forms have often been used by others to suggest that African Americans are unable to speak 'proper English'. Hence, both the content and the learning environment for African Americans in the United States has attempted to not only change their language, but has denied them their cultural and linguistic ties to the continent of Africa.

The adult learners in this study came to the learning environment with a multitude of experiences, as well as reasons. They came because they: 1) developed relationships with students and teachers; or 2) wanted to fulfill either a personal or employment objective. Often times problems associated with African Americans participation or non-participation in the learning environment are attributed to their inability to communicate their needs, both orally and in writing. Additionally, their lack of participation in adult basic education programs is compounded by both structural and personal factors.

Significance. Because of the differences existing between African American dialect and standard English, the 'schooling' of African Americans in America have negated the language, the lived experiences (history, polyrhythmic realities) and the culture (Akinnaso, 1993; Dandy, 1991; Nobles & Nobles, 1986; Reyes, 1992; Sheared, 1994). A significant number of African American children have been placed in special education classrooms because of language related 'disorders'. Many of these children progress through school with the label of 'language disorder' which is ultimately interpreted as a 'language learning disability'. These children inevitably 'drop out' of high school, and find themselves attending adult basic education programs. As these students enter into adult basic education programs, the problem is further compounded by the lack of knowledge and research concerning the needs of African American adult learners.

Findings. The following themes in relationship to the experiences of the learners in the classroom environment emerged from the data: 1) Knowledge of Self through Work Attainment; 2) Sense of Community vs. Competition; and 3) Self Confidence. Each of these themes are discussed in relationship to language structure, dialect variation(s), and communication intent and style.

Knowledge of Self through work attainment. The students in this study often referred to a better understanding of themselves and their needs as adults as opposed to those they experienced in their childhood. They spoke with authority and assurance about their purpose for returning to school. The adult learners' knowledge of self was directly connected to their understanding of education leading to work. A female stated: I wanted to -- I always wanted to get my high school diploma so I can go to -- get into so type of training , and get a job. A Latina female stated: Let me, let me answer you that, about great jobs. Being a minority means you always have to start from the bottom, yes? Yet when, when somebody with a college education comes to your area, and your employer sits and picks that person to add to his or her company, they're not going to start it from the lower, you know, like you started, like you being a minority.

> *AA female stated: I came because I had a child at an early age too and I wasn't able to graduate from high school and I thought maybe that this would be a point in my life to start going going to sch... I mean to complete something and then maybe I could go and get a job or (inaudible) a program. Help me find a job.*

Sense of Community vs. Competition Familiarity with the learning environment, fitting in, connecting to teachers and others in the classroom along with understanding one's role in the community created a sense of community among these learners. This is in direct opposition to the Eurocentric construct of competition as experienced at the K-12 levels of education.

> *AA Female: (Inaudible), you know, we're all like doing the same thing, something positive that shows me that I'm not (inaudible) change. And makes me feel that I'm accepted here (inaudible), that I'm doing something (inaudible).*

> *AA Female: Because if I --you're in a more caring environment, it's like teachers don't care whether you get it or you don't get it, you know. And it's like, either --like when you don't come here and you do -- I mean like if you miss a couple days or weeks, when you come back to school, you know, you know, you're welcoming, and, you know, she's -- ___ shows you that, you know, you can still do it, you don't have -- she's not going to just drop you out because you didn't come a couple of days. So, I think that's it. Too. You know, it's something that I have to do, you know, I'm (inaudible), you know, something that I have to give.*

> *AA Female: I think just cause it's like the location of it is close, you know, to where I (inaudible) stay, this is the only one I knew about, and uh, (inaudible), say why that? I don't know why, just going once, just you know, community.*

> *AA Male: My experiences (inaudible) school about (inaudible) status thing, you know, where, you know, a certain group of people to hang with, you know, that type and (inaudible) like you have your nerds and you have your preps and you have your jocks, you know, (inaudible). And I was kind of like in prep mode. You know, I played sports and everything and -- with people (inaudible). I would party over there, and uh, so the negative part was that, you know, I-- I did everything they do, you know, (inaudible) smoking weed, (inaudible), stuff like that, being irresponsible, not doing the school work, and uh, I became, you know a senior, you know, I got kicked off the ball team, so I'm no longer fitting into that crowd, so then you know, I have to look for (inaudible) acceptance (inaudible phrase). so I think it has a lot of fitting in status.*

Self Confidence This was evidenced through the students articulation of their goals, aspirations, lived experiences and their perceptions of themselves and abilities. They know where they have been and understand that they now have a choice about what will happen to them next. They see education as a key factor in moving ahead.

> *AA Female: For me, I was doing good in high school, I mean I was into sports, I was (inaudible). I was --no. I take that back. I was doing all right. But since -- since I was such a good athlete, I think they kind of just pushed me along so I could stay on the team, my grades were always good, because sometimes I wouldn't even come to classes, you know, I just had good grades. But uh, uh, you*

> *know, the bad part is I was -- that I had gotten pregnant in high school, so that's what messed me up, that stopped me from going altogether, you know, so I had to leave, so--....But now I know that I need this, I'm glad I'm here, because I'm really working for it, you know, I'm just not going along, can't just go along, you have to do what you have to do.*

Conclusions The participants in this study discussed their experiences and future goals with authority and passion. Throughout their dialogue black dialect features were noted. Dysfluent patterns of speaking were evidenced in the number of audible pauses, interjections, silent pauses, incomplete sentences (i.e., starting an utterance and stopping abruptly in the middle of the sentence). Although speech was noticeably dysfluent, it is not clear as to whether some of these patterns were related to the students' having control over the vocabulary or more indicative of a semantic disorder. Although dysfluencies were present, it did not interfere with the students' ability to communicate with each other and the interviewer. In addition, these dysfluencies did not hinder the flow of dialogue among the group members.

Particularly interesting was the group members ability to assist individual speakers during episodes of dysfluency by facilitating the discussions. 'Group Think' emerged and the group not only interpreted the thought for the speaker, but further communicated it orally. This dynamic of 'group think' allowed individual expression associated with self and ones lived experiences while encouraging a common understanding of self in relationship to others and what it was like to be a minority in this society. Their common experiences as African American women and men, in addition to their minority status provided them with an opportunity to reflect upon their common yet divergent realities.

Their polyrythmic realities were reflected through their status as former teen mothers, adult mothers, student athletes, students in search of GED's, unemployed and under employed workers and minorities. They were in control yet fully aware that they did not have the knowledge and skills needed in order to achieve their long term goals of independence. They talked about the ways in which their previous experiences impacted their future work opportunities. They spoke as individuals, yet understood the impact of community (e.g the school, the external community, and their families) on their decision making.

Few studies concerning the impact of black dialect on learning have been conducted. In the past five years studies (Walter, 1992) have evolved concerning the effect of language on the learning environment. The African American English dialect has been correlated to success or lack of success in the learning environment, as well as the work setting. It has often been referred to as a detractor of communication between minorities and others from the dominant group. Individualism and competition rather than communalism and sharing are often viewed as the dominant characteristic of the American educational system. While communalism and sharing are more prevalent among minority group interactions with one another in their homes they receive limited attention in the learning environment.

One of the aims of education has been to teach African Americans and other minority groups how to employ language structures and forms that reflect individualism and competition rather than communalism and sharing. Hence education tends to stress disassociation of one's self from the polyrythmic realities that often times effect the way individuals communicate and interpret information delivered to and received from others. While this disassociation is in direct opposition to the intended practice of adult education, adult basic education classrooms are replete with examples of this. Rather than acknowledging the polyrythmic realities of the learners and the positive impact this has on the way people read and interpret knowledge, adult basic educators often spend time correcting language structures and forms that reflect and allow for communalism and sharing. The lived experiences as reflected through language, race, class and gender are negated in favor of these individuals attaining the Eurocentric normative structures of language and behaviors that promote individualism and competition.

Language is the tool used to communicate the mission and purpose of adult basic education programs. Whether through oral or written modalities, African American learn about the programs' intent. They will participate or not based upon their understanding of the programs mission and purpose. Therefore adult basic educators need to first, acknowledge the importance of using language that encourages participation. Secondly, they need to understand the significance of black dialect as evidenced through 'group think'. 'Group think' provides African American adults with an opportunity to acknowledge their Africentric language structures and norms. It allows them time to develop self-confidence in communicating within and outside of the group. Once they have self-confidence communicating with each other, they can then be encouraged to use the language structures and norms of the dominant group.

Recommendations African American adults employ language structures and forms that are consistent with communalism and sharing. Through group think they communicate with each other using language structures and patterns that allow them to speak to each other as individuals as well as members of a group. While the findings in this study are preliminary, the following recommendations might provide adult basic educators with some ideas they can use to encourage the participation of African Americans in their classrooms.

1. Adult basic education teachers should encourage 'group think' through dialogue and group discussion. Self - confidence can be strengthened if group think is encouraged in a non-threatening environment.

2. Teachers should encourage the use of language that reflects community and sharing. Teachers should encourage students to work with each other in both large and small group settings. This provides students with an opportunity to begin working with others and promotes participation in the classroom as well as with others.

3. Teachers should develop needs assessments that reflect the polyrythmic realities(i.e. their roles and functions, race, class, gender, language, sexual orientation, religion, etc.) of their students. An understanding of one's polyrythmic realities (knowledge of self) can provide adult basic educators with information that can be incorporated into the curriculum.

4. Additional research should be conducted on the ways in which African American language structures and patterns impact learning.

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INFORMAL LEARNING: THE EXPERIENCE OF ADULT EDUCATORS AT WORK

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Abstract: This paper examines the term informal learning. It uses an interpretive research methodology to study how individual adult educators learn at work, personal factors which influence this, and the effects of the micro-politics of complex organizations upon informal learning. The paper concludes that there is a need for a broader conception of informal learning.

The Orientation of the Research

Learning from experience is never neutral, never independent of sociality. And this examination of informal learning thus holds an important assumption: that a person's social positioning will be influential in determining their access to and experience of learning opportunities. Social positioning strongly influences one's identity leading to different knowledges of reality. In the taken for granted world of reality, adult educators and trainers will inevitably be more comfortable working with an ethic of worker-empowerment; others may, for instance, prefer an ethic of corporate efficiency. Thus the critical implication that the conception one holds of experience is tied to a politics of learning. In other words, experience can never be read as unproblematic:

> there is no single ordered view of the world to be imparted, but multiple 'realities' to be constructed through an already interpreted experience. Our knowledge and understanding ..... are relative and partial, dependent upon the meanings we take and which regulate and construct our experience (Usher and Edwards 1994, p. 199)

Wildemeersch (1992, p. 54) expresses this notion in terms of the way assumptions about valid research tend to frame the literature - "in such a way that the contributions of individual actors are emphasized, or overemphasized; or important insights into the intersubjective character of human discourse, the big factors, are given pre-eminence, or, not sufficiently taken into consideration depending on your perspective".

Mindful of this tendency in adult learning literature to privilege the individual as being at the very centre of knowledge production (and acquisition), or privilege social/structural context, we have attempted in this paper to briefly address:

- stories about informal learning of adult educators at the Sydney Olympic site;
- the politics of learning from experience; and
- some postmodern standpoints on informal learning.

Our rationale for examining this topic was triggered when Sydney won the right to stage the year 2000 Olympic games. Within this context we were intrigued as to how a stellar corporate production might impact upon the way people learn at work. Given that a language of competence, and the recognition and assessment of workplace learning, is now a master discourse in adult education and training, we wanted to see how this discourse was perceived at the Olympic Games construction site. We have been worried about the effects of this new master discourse upon trainers and workers. There appears to us to be much more to learning than is acknowledged in contemporary (high-gloss) human resource analyses. We want to bring this to light.

Methodology

This research adopts an interpretive perspective. We argue that this provides valuable insights into trainers' everyday experience of work. It does so by using trainers' stories (and language) to derive what is most important to them about the research topic. It therefore starts from personal experience, E.g., we asked the trainers to tell us about their job, it's tasks, challenges and the dilemmas they sometimes face. This generated descriptions of their lived experience at work. These provided tremendous data for tracing etymological sources and identifying main themes and key metaphors about their informal learning. As with any research this methodology is not without problems. E.g., there is the question of face validity. Is it meaningful to ask qualitative questions of individuals given their historical and contextual situatedness?

To address such questions, the key aims of our methodology need clarification. We aimed for an alternative to the prevalent functionalist, systems theories of workplace learning. Our research adopts Saunders (1981 p. 203) view that: "A consideration of actor's definitions of their situation need not preclude attempts at sociological explanation that go beyond the level of the actor's own consciousness; indeed this was precisely the point of Weber's insistence on theoretical adequacy both at the level of meaning and at the level of causality." Ball (1991 p. 188) takes this further: "it seems perverse and constraining to want to direct all social science into one model for understanding human action". As against adoption of a testing mode, Ball claims that studying the micro-politics [of organizations] "has little to do with cause and effect but [should have as a central aim, the desire to] capture, part at least, of a social totality ... where complexity and interrelatedness rather than simplicity are the end points."

Our empirical approach involved an in-depth case-study via many field visits, interviews and observations at the Olympic Games site. It examined over a full year, the informal learning of training personnel at this large, complex construction project. Our paper focuses on the stories of the two principal trainers at the site. It was crucial for the research activity to be closely entwined with the trainers' daily activities. The research process adopted was inseparable from the writing task. E.g. the structure of the text, in its decisive form, emerged only after initial dialogue with the participants. One of us (Garrick) met with individuals and small groups, to discuss tentative interpretations of the transcripts. The key issues raised by this approach are whether this form of human science can recover reflectively the grounds which provide the possibility of understanding the informal learning of the trainers involved. The assumption of the method is, of course, that it can reach meaningful understandings, but agreement cannot always be reached.

We make no claim of researcher objectivity in this process. We were directly engaged in defining and interpreting others' experience. We sometimes disagreed about interpretations. There is no simple solution to this conundrum. Our approach was to progress the work based upon broad themes and to keep a sense of the overall project rather than a particular point or contested notion. This has very important ethical dimensions. The intense conversational interviews led each of us to new levels of self-awareness, with accompanying possibilities for changes in life-style, work-practices, and shifting personal priorities. The phenomenological research itself was thus a part of the informal learning of the trainers. In part, this is why we also sought to counterpoint the interpretive findings with postmodern perspectives on learning at work.

Findings: The subtle power of informal learning

The powerful impact upon trainers' informal learning of the purposes of their professional roles, the corporate culture and the subtle (at times stressful) influences of hierarchies of work-power surfaced immediately. The level of intentionality in learning, the skills trainers require to balance competing interests such as industry demands and educational ideals and the emotions generated in daily interactions were themes underlying each category we established for analysis. These included:

- managing training and the training-industrial relations link;
- private thoughts/public behavior: personal adaptations at work;
- networks, peers and mentors;
- recognition and feedback; and
- experience of the pendulum: industry demands, educational goals.

These categories cannot capture all that informal learning encompasses, but they are central to the work negotiations between a trainer's self and others. We aim here to focus mainly on some trainers' personal adaptations and what these mean to them.

Some age-old cultural practices of the construction industry still apply, e.g. foremen, middle-managers and influential union organizers tend to dominate the so-called workplace democracy. (Though many said "it is not as bad as it used to be"). Indeed, why should these power-brokers change when workplace reforms, including training, seek to empower workers, but may simply translate to their own loss of status, some allowances, and in the event of economic downturn, even redundancy? For them, these are powerful arguments to resist change. It is just this type of issue which directly impacts upon the two principal trainers at the site. Here are their own words :

David (pseudonyms are used): Learning to me now has to be woven so much into the production process that they [the workers] often won't even realize that they are learning. It took me a while to really learn about the primacy of production. Production is number one. That has to happen at all costs. No matter how important the training or learning is - it mustn't get in the way of that. If you [trainers] do get in the way, or interfere, you cause organizational problems and I mean problems between people.
JG: You learned that on the site; can you tell me more about your experience of this?
David: Yes. I really didn't know before-hand. You just have to experience it to know how important that is.
JG: Did you ever feel that training and your role was getting in the way of production?
David: Oh yes!
JG: How was that made apparent to you?
David: They don't beat around the bush in this industry. You hear quickly and explicitly from a foreman, or even from the construction workers involved. The say things like "I shouldn't really be here ... I'm going to get my arse kicked for this".
JG: How did you feel about this?
David: At the time, I had my own goals to push, and I was pushing site goals too ... the performance indicators the site had for training. The training program could have been done in another way - a more cooperative way that didn't impact upon production as badly. But the problem with doing it "less visibly" is that it isn't obviously learning or training. It's like 'action-learning' that we are really now moving towards.
JG: You have mentioned a number of times the importance of production and there was a period where you felt you, and the training role, were a little bit "in the way". It sounds as though there were some barriers you had to break through to be accepted as a trainer at the construction site. It sounds as though some of the skills you are offering are not really being recognized in the same way as production or construction skills.
David: Yes, it was a bit uphill. But trying to get what we did at the Olympics site on other sites is absolutely impossible. You can't recreate it because subsequent jobs do not have comparable budgets. It has to be more integrated and invisible now.
JG: Would it be fair to say that one of the key things you learned informally at the Olympics site was the importance of becoming invisible: that is, for the learning effort and the role of the trainer to become less visible, less obvious.
David: Yes. Invisible and integrated....a part of the culture of the site. It's like a Catch 22 situation in some ways, as trainers need to be visible and have their offerings noticed, but at the same time be invisible.

This is, in part, a game of disguising power and power relations. It is not a game in the sense of the powerful (e.g. project managers, etc) consciously making training "invisible". But the game works because the players involved believe they are engaged in meaningful actions - constructing the Olympic project - which transcend power.

For Maria, one of the three female professionals at a site with a workforce of four hundred men, becoming invisible was, in this gender-related sense, never an option. Her professional contribution as a trainer, however, did face the potential of being made 'invisible' as the following extract shows. Her experience of the work culture and the hierarchies was, needless to say, very different to David's, but also much affected by what she calls "power bases" in the workplace.

Maria: I now believe one of the really important things for a trainer to do is work out where are the power bases in the workplace; like who are the informal leaders, who are the people that can get things done for you - how power works in an organization. I was not only theoretically pre-disposed to this, it was through my own experience.
JG: Can you clarify for me how you did experience this?
Maria: Going back to my last job - it related to intellectual property. I did a lot of work on something - something I devised which became popular. Suddenly I wasn't the author but other names appeared on it. There were political games.
JG: Did that happen in any way at the Olympics site?
Maria: No. But power is very important. For example, when I started, I thought David was my power base on the site. The reality was that the Construction Project Manager was a key power broker. Working that out didn't take long - but it was important. Power is segmented. Some workers with tremendous technical skills have power and influence, but this is [for them] not necessarily maneuverable.

In the exercise of power, principal aims were clearly stated. For site managers: to build the project on or ahead of time, on or below budget, and to the client's satisfaction. For unionists: in part, to maintain a say in decision making - protecting member's interests in an era of large scale redundancies, dwindling membership and declining influence. Central to these "complex issues and power plays" is the relationship of training to industrial relations. Indeed, training is now a pawn in the industrial relations nexus.

Maria: I was organized enough to know that I was being used by the company for image reasons - to have a professional female at the site promoting a 'learning organization' - but I did not feel exploited. I didn't mind; I just knew it was happening. Anyway, I feel that the discourse precedes the change. Many have said the learning organization and training of staff is given 'lip-service', but then what happens is people realize they need to make it work, or that 'lip-service' simply looks ridiculous. Gaining credibility, in what was for me a fairly alien culture, was a big personal achievement. But I feel as though I could have done more, technically and professionally, but training was not particularly highly valued at the site. Production was all important. Training was valued in the rhetoric, but not in practice.
JG: Do you mean training wasn't valued or you weren't particularly valued?
Maria: Sometimes workers in industry see the skills of educators as too invisible - you can't see their product. Construction workers, e.g., will say - "we have built this and as such it represents our skills" - but we can't actually see what educators do. What counts is intimately connected to what society values and how that is translated through the system you are working in. It is also about what is visible - seen and valued.

What is "seen and valued", however, can vary considerably when public comments are examined and compared with private thoughts. "Invisibility", e.g. was a recurring metaphor in Maria's story. We probed what this means to her. She defined success beyond the traditional financial and the directly observable, achievement-oriented performance indicators. Her personal definitions related to the alignment of her inner beliefs, values and standards of ethics with her learning and competence in the role. This is not unusual for successful women in organization development roles:
"what the popular literature does not address are the multilayered aspects of success within the context of a field in which successful women - socialized not to brag or compete with men - admit to difficulties identifying and giving themselves credit for their contributions. In addition they have ambivalent feelings about getting recognition for their work". Kaplan (1995, p. 68)

As Maria said, her contribution to the construction site was through relationships; the support she offered colleagues and her services to those who needed language, literacy and computing skills. We suggest there are various modes for being visible. That Maria is comfortable with a behind the scenes mode does not make it less valuable. Indeed what should be at the forefront is not the trainer, but one dimensional views of what is important, and the reality of sexism and racism. Personal adaptations and resistance to such views are present in informal learning, in some form, at all times.

Re-thinking informal learning

This study sought to widen understandings of the informal learning of industry trainers. David's and Maria's stories from the Sydney Olympics construction site, to some extent do this. But the understandings relate to the complexities which surround the term informal learning. They relate to contested notions about the roles and purposes of industry training, the links between management, industrial relations and training, and the broader industry-education interface which impact upon trainers. The stories also highlight the influences upon one's informal learning of felt experience, emotion, one's self/unconscious desires, motivations and auto-biography. But this hermeneutic search for a stronger underlying pattern, or truth, about informal learning - a unifying or reducible pattern which might enable greater prediction or certainty - is not forthcoming. Indeed, the stories have by no means captured the full meanings of all factors which shape informal learning and which, in turn, are shaped by the trainers.

This is not a matter of returning to the trainers for more data, or to re-check personal meanings. E.g., Maria's references to her upbringing in South Africa, her feminism and experience in such a heavily male-dominated environment; what she calls "the darker side" - racism, gender stereotypes, oppressive behavior, her informal or implicit theories about her practice at the site and the ways these have been shaped by her formal education. Or David's experience of philosophical dilemmas between working to achieve a profit in the training program and providing developmental opportunities for workers (not always immediately measurable), his personal sense of "impending disaster" - with little time for privacy and reflection, a partially imposed "phantom-like" role, and experience of "the primacy of production" - are a part of an irreducible human world. Free market econometric desires to systematically 'reduce' informal learning in order to boost its productive potential, or as David put it (reflecting the corporate philosophy), to have learning "woven into the production process" - are thus epistemologically and ontologically flawed. This is not to deny that informal learning can be promoted through more systematic approaches. But informal learning is not so easily domesticated. However, the trainers did accommodate much that was required of them to provide "production-oriented" training. A never-stated underlying coercion in the culture common to many post-Fordist workplaces is that if you don't like what you are required to do, then get out!

Central to informal learning are dealings with on-site power relations and clashes of personal values with workplace directions - the heart of resistance. This resistance is where the intentionality in one's learning is particularly important. This is because taking a stance in opposition to dominant workplace expectations or management directives is never easy, but can be integral to key educational goals. In a tough, and as Maria and David both say, "brutally honest", at times ruthless, environment such as construction, it can quickly lead to dismissal. One needs to know what one is doing and why! Achieving this 'awareness' is not always easy. As the mini-narratives show, causes and effects of 'resistance' produce emotional responses. To a significant degree, informal learning is found in this terrain of dealing with emotional experiences.

Yet the links between dealing with emotional experience and the trainer's intentionality in her/his own learning remain cloudy. Learning reflexivity and the abilities to abstract and objectify one's experience - to reflect upon and learn from it - are extraordinarily complex phenomena. Critical and individualistic issues are involved - one's emotional 'readiness', one's implicit/informal theories, one's innate capacities (meta-cognition) to finesse experience, one's formal education, auto-biography, gender and so on. For David and Maria, emotion played important but different roles in their learning. Although the study did not plan to compare their informal learning, an incidental observation was that Maria was particularly adept at describing emotion. This capacity was important to her learning, reiterating a central theme of Belenky et al. (1986) - that emotion is central to women's "different ways of knowing". Felt experience was very important to Maria because her concept of learning is deeper than the competencies and desired outcomes required at the work-site. Her concept is underpinned by a concern (at one level) for social justice, and (at another level) with the question of whether it "faced her with anything new about herself" - reflection and self-understanding.

Belenky et al's view that women have different ways of knowing is not, however, adequately explained by gender theorisations alone. E.g., in these stories David's 'situatedness' at work was quite different from Maria's. Although based at the same site, in the same time-frame, David was directly employed by the company. Maria was not. David's licence, or freedom to shape the training program was more circumscribed by this. As he states, he had "virtually no time to reflect on how the job was impacting on his emotions". His role was more directly 'owned' by the company. This ownership included his attendance at management meetings with expectations of compliance with production schedules. Though much has been written about feminism, and as much as we know about masculine and feminine characteristics, "there is not one person that I know of who has the whole deal on integration wrapped up. We will be working these issues, if we care to, for our lifetimes" (Kaplan 1995, p. 73).

The notion of situatedness and the critical role of emotion in learning pose difficulties for the current training reform drive throughout OECD nations to account for and 'recognize' informal learning (based on the discourse of competency-based standards). Competency standards - a key mechanism for assessing informal learning - are often circumscribed. Indeed, tightly bound, neatly compartmentalized, observable elements and units of competence - ripe for measurement - are found to be only one aspect of informal learning, and not even representative of its principal characteristics.

Some key features of trainers' informal learning have emerged in this study. They show the major influences of workplace culture - its politics and power relations - the management of the training function, the links between training and industrial relations, the networks, peers and mentors, and the significations which come from recognition and feedback. The findings also relate to individuals' abilities to adapt to the site, their felt experience, the resistance and accommodation involved in daily balancing personal values and work requirements. This has critical implications for the theory and practice of industry training and the informal learning of industry trainers. It is towards this discussion that we wish to encourage adult education researchers.

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SOME RECENT AUSTRALIAN RESEARCH ON WORKPLACE LEARNING AND TRAINING

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Abstract: This paper describes two recent Australian projects which examined the learning of generic competencies in industry settings and considered possible ways of enhancing these competencies through a variety of training approaches.

All western countries have been deeply worried, over recent years, about the competitiveness of their economies and have sought to conscript their education systems in the process of economic restructuring. While education used to be discussed in terms of the cultivation of the human spirit, the capacity to produce an egalitarian society and so on, educational policy today is almost always cast within a narrower economic framework - to the disgust of many of our colleagues (e.g. Carr 1992). There are a number of ways in which economistic thinking manifest itself in educational policy:

- The tendency to evaluate post school education in market terms and to reassess the aims and role of the public sector in the provision of this education.
- Support by governments for education and training policies related to skill formation. Such policies link education to work and to industrial relations agendas workplace reform and wider industry restructuring.

Australian governments are similar to those in other countries in pursuing such policies. The difference, perhaps is that the changes have been so comprehensive. Over recent years both State and Federal governments, have developed a so called "national training reform agenda" which, amongst things, has set up a national training scheme for young people, offered firms incentives to train staff, linked workers pay increases to levels of skill achieved, prescribed that all training be in competency- based (ie standards or performance based) form, developed vocational courses in schools and linked schools to workplaces and technical colleges, attempted to create a training market where public providers compete with subsidized private providers, developed a set of competencies (know as the "key competencies") similar to SCANS in the United States, which all trainees (and school children) 'need' for successful participation in work and further study.

While some of these developments are quite worrying, many of them provide important opportunities for rethinking what we regard as valuable in education. The prominence of government policy directed at skill formation is beginning to force educators to reconsider the traditional dichotomy between education and work- something build on assumptions about the differences between general and vocational education, education and training, mind and body, mental and manual processes, knowing and doing. These dichotomies have been unchallenged, at least in the English speaking world, since the time that Socrates elevated the capacity of the military strategist to explain the tactics of war over the capacity of the general to execute them.

These challenges to traditional views about what is valuable in education are being reinforced by research in the 'new' cognitive psychology. This suggests, in essence, that individuals construct knowledge through an interpretative interaction with the social world they experience (Lave 1988, Lave and Wenger, 1991). This "social constructivism" is now quite widely accepted amongst psychologists but the implications of it have been mostly discussed in relation to traditional general education. This research suggests that general competencies can emerge out of practical activity and that our long- held views about the need to move in our teaching from theory to practice (particularly strong in education of the professions) may need to be replaced by the idea of moving from practice to theory.

One of the problems with the suggestion that an apprenticeship is a useful approach to general education however, is that it is often based on assumptions which are rather romantic and which have not been adequately tested empirically. That is, there have been very few studies of what is actually learnt through apprenticeships nor how this learning is best facilitated. One of the most important questions is whether apprentices learns only specific skills or whether they learn general competencies which enable them to transfer what they know and can do to other contexts or at least become more adaptable in these contexts.

Over the last year there have been two projects carried out by the University of Technology Sydney Research Centre in Vocational Education and Training, which have attempted to analyze the extent to which trainees/apprentices (the differences are largely to do with the duration of training) develop a set of generic competencies, known in Australia as the Key Competencies, and what training methods might be used to enhance or develop these generic competencies. These competencies are: Collecting, Analyzing and Organizing Information; Communicating Ideas and Information; Planning and Organizing Activities; Working with Others and in Teams; Using Mathematical Ideas and Techniques; Solving Problems; Using Technology; Displaying cultural understanding.

These projects were commissioned by the State government which needed information, as quickly as possible, about how well its policy on key competencies was understood in industry, and the development of strategies to improve training in the key competencies in industry settings. These needs presented difficulties both as regards the time available to do the studies and the type of methodology which could be used. Indeed, any research undertaken in firms which are engaged in normal business present serious difficulties for researchers. It is not possible to spend too much time in a worksite, management needs to perceived that there will be something of value for them from the research, interventions must be restricted.

In the first project, Gonczi et al (1995) attempted *inter alia* :

○To determine the extent to which trainees and apprentices in industry actually possess the key competencies. (The industries chosen were Hairdressing, Electrical, Metals, Hospitality and Timber Retail. Six firms in each industry were chosen, where possible from large, medium and small firms) "Possession" included both the breadth of the key competencies (how many do the trainees possess) and the depth of the key competencies (how many *aspects* of the individual competency do they possess -see appendix for the elements of the key competencies)

○To examine training arrangements in the various industries and the individual firms which make up the industry. This included an examination of the industry's curriculum documents, the actual training practices, both formal and non-formal in the industry, and also the assessment practices.

○Consider the relationships between the training arrangements and the development of the key competencies and suggest strategies to improve training in the industries.

Methodology.

Interviews of the trainees and training supervisors in 30 firms was supplemented by observation of trainees in work for up to half a day. There was also a phone interview of 100 firms (20 from each industry from a list supplied by the Industry Associations).

Findings of Project 1

While there was generally a low level of understanding of the key competencies amongst managers and trainers, those involved in the study generally supported the notion of generic skills. However, the study found that entry level training in industries with a customer service orientation appeared to provide opportunities for trainees to develop more of the key competencies than other industries. The report also highlighted that the acquisition of competencies needed to be regarded as a developmental process throughout a trainee ship or apprenticeship and beyond.

Although all trainees and apprentices who participated in the study possessed some of the key competencies (though rarely at high levels), there was virtually no evidence of explicit training activities used to develop the key competencies. This supports the suggestion of Marsick and Watkins (1990) that informal and incidental learning are significant ways of learning on the job. Consequently, Gonczi et al questioned whether there was a need for additional formal training activity when aspects of the key competencies were embedded in existing training practices. However, the report also notes that, contrary to the hopes expressed by the proponents of key competencies, there was not a single apprentice or trainee across the five industries who appeared to possess all the competencies and few of them possessed them in any depth.

Gonczi et al identified five interconnected variables which appear to have a significant impact on the nature of training for the key competencies, across and within industries. These factors are:

- the training culture in the industry: which is derived from the history and traditions of training within the enterprise and/or industry and influences commitment and attitudes to training.
- the nature of work: which relates to the variety of tasks performed by the apprentice or trainee and the way that the tasks are organized and performed within and across industries;
- the size of the firm: the study found that planned, structured and consistent training was evident more frequently in large and medium-sized firms than small firms;
- the trainer's understanding of the learning/teaching process: the report suggests that atomistic approaches to competency based training and assessment '... will retard the development of the key competencies' (p23).
- the age, experience and capacity of the trainee or apprentice.

Gonczi et al then identified a series of strategies for facilitating the development of a wider range and depth of key competencies by trainees and apprentices:

- Curriculum strategies are required which focus on making the key competencies explicit in the training and assessment processes used by trainers, through the provision of a rationale for incorporating key competencies and the identification of principles for developing and integrating the key competencies into industry standards, curriculum, training strategies, assessment and reporting.
- The development of training and assessment approaches and materials which are facilitative and simple and cost effective are advocated. These resources would encourage trainees to negotiate, think, reflect and engage in self and peer assessment on the key competencies within the context of training in vocational competencies. Such approaches may include the use of diaries or journals, buddies or mentors, training sheets and other approaches which capture real work situations as training and assessment events.
- Similarly, the report identifies the need to develop and deliver compulsory one or two day train the trainer courses in how to train in the key competencies, for all enterprises taking on trainees and apprentices. This approach is necessary to address the complexity of issues involving the development of the key competencies and to improve the quality of on-the-job training through the inclusion of approaches such as modeling, coaching and questioning techniques.
- The report also highlights the need for further research on the development of the key competencies through the effective integration of on- and off-the-job training and learning.

Gonczi et al note that their study has increased the level of understanding of the relationship between key competencies and on-the-job training, however, it also raises '...a number of large questions' (p35). Further qualitative case study research was recommended to test the findings of the study and advance understanding of both the nature of the key competencies and how they can be developed in industry.

Project 2

A team of seven researchers was engaged in the project, (Hager et al 1996) which sought, inter alia, to develop a series of approaches for incorporating the key competencies into on-the-job training, assessment and reporting. Five workplaces from each of five industries were selected for the study: Clerical/Administration; Information Technology; Hairdressing, Hospitality; and Metals.. The term 'industry' is used in this report to cover both industry groups, such as Metals and Hospitality, and occupational areas, such as Clerical/Administration. The workplaces chosen represented a cross section of typical firms in the industry- small medium and large where possible and appropriate.

Methodology

Action research processes were used. The researchers develop a series of approaches designed to clarify a range of questions raised in the first report and in subsequent reading and discussions. These questions which became the working assumptions for the second project included the following:

- ○ Key competencies are best developed within a real work context, but this needs to be supplemented by other strategies which help the trainee to make sense of this real work.
- ○ Key competency development requires that trainees reflect on, evaluate and articulate their own learning and performance of the key competencies.
- ○ Key competencies are inter-related and overlap. They are not totally separate from each other. Opportunities which allow for learners to develop key competencies in a holistic way will provide the most meaningful development.
- ○ There is a need for trainees to develop generalizations from practice that will stimulate the transfer of learning to other contexts. Trainees need to consider what they have learnt in terms of how it might be applied elsewhere.
- ○ Key competencies are developed through the situated process of learning.

Throughout the projects, members of the research team met regularly (approximately fortnightly) to: discuss emerging tools/approaches observed in industry practice; discuss issues and obstacles; and formulate, exchange and debrief on the tools/approaches being piloted.

Researchers also provided regular feedback to stakeholders involved in the project at each of the sites. There were a number of approaches for improving the training in the key competencies which were developed in the project. (Some of these were trialled, however the time available for the research did not allow for all these approaches to be implemented and observed. The trials are on going).

- The use of "training scenarios" where substantial work tasks which had the potential for introducing in the key competencies to trainees are developed. Examples were the setting up of a banquet in a large hotel in the Hospitality, industry (this includes planning, teamwork, mathematics, collecting information etc), dealing with unclear customers in Clerical occupations (this includes communication, problem solving) and so on. A training guide was produced by the researchers after the first discussion session with trainers and was it subsequently used by trainers. This approach incorporated the use of problem based learning in work based off -the- job setting, where potential work situations were introduced e.g. management issues in hospitality.
- Use of critical incidents where real difficulties which were actually experienced by trainees are discussed/debriefed in a systematic way which introduces the key competencies. Example were a customer in Hairdressing who demands to see a particular hairdresser who is too busy to do the job, preparation of insufficient quantities of vegetables in a small restaurant in Hospitality and so on. As in the training scenario approach, materials were developed by the researchers which were used by the trainers.
- Use of reflection/ self appraisal instrument where the trainees were asked to rate their capacity in the key competencies and these were then checked against trainers perceptions. Trainees were then asked to examine major tasks that they had undertaken during a day and reflect on them from the perspective of the presence of the key competencies. This was designed to make the competencies explicit and to integrate them into planning. Planning the next task included thinking about how the key competencies would be present. This cycle continued over a two month period at the end of which the trainees and trainer reassessed the capacity of the trainees re the key competencies.

Findings

The time frame for the project did not allow for the complete trialling of all the approaches outlined below, the most successful approaches which were trialled were:

- Training scenarios: facilitating the integration of generic and technical competence within workplace contexts

These tools suggest that key competencies may be best developed through holistic situational training approaches which provide opportunities (or contexts) which require the synthesis of specific and generic knowledge and skills. Many of the trainers/managers were enthusiastic about these approaches and had begun to use them at the time of the completion of the project. However, it was also evident that the successful use of these tools would be dependent on owner-managers and workplace trainers with the skills and preparedness to use training scenarios and make explicit reference to the key competencies.

- Trainee/Trainer Assessment / reflection tools

These tools were trialed successfully in three industries. These approaches included a trainer assessment/trainee task appraisal tool developed for four information technology sites; and performance review instruments for employees/trainees at two hospitality sites. These tools made the presence of the key competencies more explicit in workplace training and job performance. The work diary and task appraisal sheet were trialed in four firms in Information Technology. In two of the firms the results suggest that when the key competencies are made explicit, when the trainee reflects on the key competencies and uses them for planning their work, that they do lead to some improvement in understanding of the key competencies and in performance of tasks which incorporate the key competencies. In one firm the trainee was assessed as having improving his performance in a large number of the key competencies. In another, the trainee felt he became aware of his own capacities as defined by the key competencies and had improved in his performance in tasks which incorporated the key competencies—however this improvement was not confirmed by the trainer. An important point is that both the trainees in these firms were mature individuals who had obviously had the opportunity to develop the key competencies in a number of situations prior to the current traineeships. In both cases the affective dimension needs to be highlighted. The growth of self confidence seems to be a major factor in improved performance in the use of these competencies.

In all the cases where the trainer was able to comment on the instruments and implicitly on the value of making the key competencies explicit, they were generally enthusiastic. This again reinforces the view that experience is a prerequisite to being able to perceive the importance of generic competencies.

It is not possible to come to any firm conclusions on the basis of the evidence collected in this industry. It is obvious that more work needs to be done over a far longer time frame, probably no less that a year, before we could reach any firm conclusions about the role of self awareness and explicitness in the ability of trainees to develop key competencies. It would be important to contrast older trainees with work experience with younger trainees and to compare young trainees who undertake on-and off-the-job programs with those who are engaged in authentic work on a full time basis.

Conclusion

The relationship between relatively specific work skills (elements of competence) and generic skills (key competencies) is not well understood. In particular, it is not well understood that when significant work activities are considered, they typically feature both specific work skills and key competencies (usually more than one) as well as aspects of the particular work context. Thus, work contexts integrate specific skills and key competencies. There are many cases of this in the products of this second research project. For example, the critical incident scenarios developed in hairdressing all centre on some significant workplace incident in which a competent response integrates both a range of specific skills and various key competencies.

Why is this relatively simple point so little understood? One reason is a prevailing myth that key competencies are free floating components of work that can be described and taught in isolation. On this view, key competencies take on a life of their own and people simply have to learn to transfer them to new situations. Another reason for the lack of understanding of the key competencies is the propensity to favor specific skills descriptions when analyzing work. This reliance on very narrow descriptions of specific skills makes it seem an 'objective' fact that such skills are independent of the key competencies. However, as this research project repeatedly found, specific skills are deployed in a context which typically changes somewhat from client to client, from order to order, from case to case. The requirement that skilled work take into account changing context is, on its own, usually enough to bring the key competencies into play.

However, this project also found that there is significant variation between occupations and industry sectors in terms of which key competencies are prominent in workplace performance. This suggests that it might be useful to tailor specific versions of the key competencies for use in particular industries.

The results of this project support the use of the following approaches for training in the key competencies:

- Adopt an holistic and integrative training orientation. This will encourage key competency awareness. An atomistic training orientation will discourage key competency awareness.
- Emphasize that the 'situation' (or context) is crucial.
- Use the key competencies as a vehicle for enriching training. It will encourage a more integrated, systematic and strategic approach.
- Analyze the workplace and identify situations that have a potential for including key competencies to improve work performance. Answering the phone can be good customer relations but it can also be communicating and problem solving of a high order. The key competencies take different forms in each workplace.
- It would seem that the key competencies have not been emphasized enough in traditional vocational education and training.
- The affective domain needs to be considered in attempts to develop competencies in trainees.
- The key competencies could be used to link on- and off-the-job training. In the same way as they are central to linking specific and generic within a work context, they also enable the application of off-the-job training to particular workplace contexts.
- The key competencies should be seen as important for all of the workforce in an enterprise, not just school leavers.
- Based on this research project, methods that appear to work well include critical incident scenarios, problem-based learning, and trainer and trainee reflection/assessment tools which integrate the key competencies.

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ADULT EDUCATORS AS BORDER CROSSERS: USING TRANSFORMATIVE PEDAGOGY TO INFORM CLASSROOM PRACTICE

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Abstract: This paper presents an understanding of transformative pedagogy that is sensitive to the social, cultural, and historical construction of identity-difference within classrooms as political and multicentric spaces and places. It relates that this border pedagogy emphasizes the inclusion of Others and values instrumental, social and cultural forms of adult education in developing transformative classroom practices. It considers themes, challenges, and risks impacting this development.

Transformative Pedagogy as Challenge and Risk: We live in times when danger, fear, skepticism, and pessimism have become trademarks of the postmodern condition. Economic ebb tides have provided impetus for a pervasive reactionary conservatism in Canada and the United States. This politics functions overtly or subtly - as suits its purpose - to blame and disenfranchise Others. These days the enemy is constructed within national borders. It seems convenient, almost trendy, to blame those who have long fought the difficult battle to "even get to a tributary of the mainstream of [North] American life" (Rauch, 1972, p.9). Blacks, women, gays and lesbians, aboriginal peoples, and the poor are among those castigated for the political and economic upheaval contributing to the current insecurity and instability in the lives and work of many individuals. In these dangerous times, how do adult educators need to understand the students who come to our classrooms? What sort of educational encounters can meet their diverse learning and living needs? There are certainly many questions we must ask of ourselves, of students, as we make our way together through today's adult educational terrain. If, as Finger (1990) tells us, adult education's contemporary social function is "learning our way out" (p. 103), then we might do well to heed Camus's (1960) reflection on Emerson's words: "'Every wall is a door,' Emerson correctly said. Let us not look for the door, and the way out, anywhere but in the wall against which we are living" (p. 272). We must let living, learning, and work converge in our classrooms. This raises important questions. How do we shape our classrooms as political and multicentric sites that form a common ground for the privileged as well as the disenfranchised who may see walls where they could see doors? How can we make space and place for social and cultural theoretical discourses *and* instrumental learning within a teaching-learning habitat where all these ways of knowing have use and worth? How can we prevent our classrooms from becoming isolation booths where students are created in images discordant with those reflecting the worlds in which they live and work?

One way to engage these and other questions challenging adult educators today is to frame considerations drawing on the theoretical construction of transformative pedagogy, an eclectic theoretical scaffolding developed using insights from discourses including critical theory, feminism, and postmodernism. Transformative pedagogy requires actors to operate in a border zone where theory and practice inform one another (Giroux, 1992; Simon, 1992). It demands that we question theoretical work, pedagogy, and classroom practice. It reminds us as academic adult educators that "*the ongoing work of an intellectual practice* for most of us, insofar as we get our material sustenance, our modes of reproduction, from doing our academic work, *is indeed to teach* [italics added]" (Hall, 1992, p. 290). It tells us that we teach, learn, and live in a community of Others. Bauman (1991) contends that postmodernity is "the age of community" (p. 246) and limits are off limits. Therefore, transformative pedagogy, indeed any pedagogy practiced in contemporary times, must be about recognizing, valuing, and fostering Otherness. For Bauman, this engagement centers around issues of respect, responsibility and solidarity. He states, "It is from the right of the Other that my right is put together. The 'I am responsible for the Other', and 'I am responsible for myself', come to mean the same thing" (p. 236). This understanding valuing diversity is simultaneously an unceasing and exhilarating aspect of the postmodern condition which Bauman (1991) captures this way:

> [It] has its dangers and its fears. Its survival is not guaranteed. ... In this respect, of course, the postmodern condition does not differ at all from all other conditions; it differs only by knowing about it, by its knowledge of living without guarantee, of being on its own. This makes it exceedingly anxiety-prone. And this also gives it a chance. (pp. 256-257)

Similarly, Brosio (1994), while recognizing that the engagement of Otherness enhances education's space and place as a democratic project, also acknowledges the challenges to educators presented by the complexities of dynamizing Otherness. He raises a concern about solidarity that is not adequately addressed within postmodern politics. He relates that "it is not clear whether the current inability to provide an umbrella over the necessary accentuations of difference and otherness will prove helpful to a liberatory project [in education] that must be based upon broad coalitions of persons who can find common ground" (p. 21). Such coalitions require that at least partial closure be brought periodically to constructions of identity-difference in order to enable political action that fosters and values Otherness. Coalition creation challenges adult educators to take risks as border crossers and create learning moments where students, as they are comfortable and able, talk about their own identity-differences as they understand them in the here and now. As this knowledge is produced they talk to and with students concerning how these understandings might enable/inhibit possibilities for future coalitions and collective action.

Transformative Pedagogy In-Formation: Pervasive themes in transformative pedagogy offer valuable insights for improving classroom practice. Four of these themes are now briefly overviewed.

Theory and Practice are Mutually Informative: Transformative pedagogy views knowledge as emergent in the teaching-learning habitat. Knowledge "is produced in the process of interaction ... between teacher and student at the moment of classroom engagement. Knowledge is not the matter that is offered so much as the matter that is understood" (Lusted, as quoted in Giroux, 1992, p. 201). Transformative pedagogy addresses the construction, exchange, and distribution of knowledge as it problematizes it in classrooms that give primacy to dialogue about identity-difference (Aronowitz & Giroux, 1993). It builds on the lived and learned experiences of educators and students and it draws on and/or creates theoretical scaffoldings to raise questions about the knowledge produced. This border pedagogy neither blurs nor forgets the histories, contexts, and relations shaping the lives, learning, and work of educators and students (Tierney, 1992; Aronowitz & Giroux, 1993). It has parallels in adult education. For example, Jansen and Klercq (1992), in conceptualizing the facilitation of experiential learning, contend that it "requires *theoretically informed views and visions of society* [their emphasis]" (p. 101). Furthermore, it needs educators who can interrogate these views and visions with the knowledges and experiences of learners to reveal merits or expose patterns of prejudice and exclusion that may be embodied and embedded in particular theoretical scaffoldings. Educators and students take part in a "mutual engagement of lived [identity-]difference" (Giroux, 1992, p. 201). In this teacher-learner symbiosis educators "become - in a word, by Tolstoy - 'the co-disciples of their students'" (Fromm, 1968, p.115). In transformative classroom practices this means having educator and student voices heard while simultaneously providing the conditions for these voices to be engaged and challenged (Giroux, 1993). Simon (1992) concurs, also alluding to the dangers of essentializing the experiences of Other educators and students in classrooms as multicentric spaces and places. He explains:

> In attempting to counter ... [the Western] historical hegemony of authoritativeness, there is a danger in running the problem back the other way. This happens when uninterrogatable authority is ascribed to classroom members by virtue of their positionality as a member of an oppressed group. ... While

> important arguments have been and can be made for privileging previously subjugated knowledge and forms of knowing, such 'truths' can never be immune to questions of discourse and responsibility. (p. 68)

Simon views experience as a problematic notion. Certainly, sharing experiences can reveal relations of power and offer important cultural critiques. However, as Simon cautions, one must "avoid the conservatism inherent in simply celebrating personal experience and confirming that which people already know" (p. 61). Transformative pedagogy realizes this possibility and works to shape classrooms as teaching-learning habitats where experiential learning is enhanced by contextual and relational analyses. Every classroom is viewed as a space and place that, in Freirean fashion, is "truly plural and dialogical, a [space and] place where students are required not only to read texts but to understand contexts" (McLaren, 1994, p. xxxii). Students also explore the dynamics of relations of power.

Identity-Difference and the Intersection of Relations of Power are Key Notions: Transformative pedagogy is about shaping classrooms as communities of difference and liberating Others through the actions of recognizing, fostering, and valuing Otherness (Tierney, 1993; Aronowitz & Giroux, 1993). It develops the concept of identity-difference and the idea of working in the intersection of relations of power in order to inform classroom practices sensitive to diversity. Its pedagogical struggle is about "testing the ways we produce meaning and represent ourselves [and] our relations to others" (Giroux & Simon, 1989, p. 244). Identity-difference is presented as a complex and fragile composite shaped in the intersection where race, ethnicity, class, gender, sexual orientation, ableness, and age impact learning, life, and work. It is viewed as possibly privileging and subjugating the same individual in multiple ways. Transformative educators are in tune with this probability, developing classroom practices sensitive to their own locatedness and the locatedness of Others. Identity is difference in this regard; hence the concept of identity-difference.

Within transformative pedagogy, a politics of representation that merely recognizes difference in classrooms is not enough. Transformation means that identity-difference must also be fostered and valued. Educators and students question practices designed to integrate or acculturate students into accepted and acceptable ways of knowing and acting in support of the *status quo*. They develop Other practices that draw on dispositional knowledge valuing multicentrism and engage ways to confront racism, classism, sexism, homophobia, and ageism.

Conflict and Dialogue are Contributory to Transformative Teaching-Learning: Within the dynamics of transformation, conflict is viewed as natural and necessary to "the constant interplay and interests of individuals and constituencies who continually enter and exit ... [classrooms]. Indeed, in many respects the role of the transformative ... [educator] is to foment conflict in so far as the lack of conflict implies that people's voices are denied or silenced" (Tierney, 1992, p.45). Therefore participants in transformative teaching-learning practices are encouraged to take positions of advocacy, link commitment to knowledge, and value debate in teaching-learning encounters (Giroux, 1994a). Classrooms conducive to these practices provide space and place for the legitimate expression of the diverse and often conflicting views of educators and students (Giroux, 1992; Simon, 1992). Possibilities for transformation are created by "simultaneously subjecting such views to examination as to their partiality, embodiment, and constructedness within the differential positions offered by relations such as gender, race, age, [ableness, ethnicity, sexual orientation, class,] and region" (p. 64). Identity-difference can emerge where teaching-learning dynamics involve individual, intersubjective, and collective action (Giroux, 1992). These dynamics are reflexive in that this process calls upon participants to interrogate how knowledge-power constructions overtly and subtly confirm or deny identity-difference.

Drawing on Freirean and feminist perspectives to create a teaching-learning habitat sensitive to identity-difference, Simon (1992) emphasizes the importance of dialogue that "is always grounded in the realities of the lived relations within which ... [educators and students talking to and with one another] find themselves" (p. 96). Dialogue is vital to "teaching against the grain" (p. 96) as a social and political act. It involves raising questions and then asking questions about the questions. How do we learn? How do we locate ourselves in classrooms? How do we *speak to and with* one another (Giroux, 1992)? How do we listen? Engaging such questions around agency and praxis creates awareness. For educators "the project of becoming aware ... is a deep and broad reckoning of one's official discursive positions and professional status as nodes or loci of power" (Pignatelli, 1993, p. 421). It is challenging and interrogating oneself, examining one's own identity-difference, as a requisite to engagement with Others. In this sense agency and reflexive praxis exist as "a refusal to be mindlessly complicitous and programmatically fixed to a systematic and totalizing design" (Pignatelli, 1993, p. 430).

Classroom Practices are Inclusionary of Peoples and Knowledges: Drawing on transformative pedagogy, adult educators as border crossers engage in reflexive, inclusionary practices that address social and cultural issues in a teaching-learning milieu where instrumental concerns are also met. They recognize that adult education like public education (Giroux,1994b) is both political and politicized. It is political since it is an important site to address knowledge-power issues impacting students who need supports in the face of their fears concerning today's sociopolitical upheaval and economic ebb tides. It is politicized in that much of our current practice is designed to meet technicist/specialist needs in venues beyond the field's borders without regard to possibilities for transformation. Indeed, the enterprise's existence seems perennially tied to fulfilling the agendas of government, business, and industry. Transformative adult educators know that they cannot ignore what Nietzsche (1964) called "instruction in bread-winning" (p. ix). However, they also know that such instruction must be embedded and embodied in a reflexive learning paradigm that challenges learners to investigate the broader contextual issues impacting life, learning, and work. As Jansen and Klercq (1992) relate, "The positions and experiences of participants of learning processes cannot be isolated from their integration into larger political, economic and cultural connections, which not only leave their marks on their concrete experiences but which also to a large extent determine which experiences and interpretations of the world are acknowledged and which are marginalized" (pp. 99-100). Simon (1992) frames such a border pedagogy:

> This is a pedagogy that begins with the premise that while students need to learn about "the realities of work" and develop marketable skills, the primary task of work education is *not* to prepare students to meet the needs of employers nor to ensure a student's immediate economic survival. We are interested in education for work and not simply training for jobs. Therefore we ask what knowledge, skills, and abilities do students need in order to understand and participate in changes that are taking place in the work world? (p. 123)

Engaging in border pedagogy means that educators assist students to understand contextual and relational factors shaping work and its future possibilities. Today this analysis can include exploration of a new classism emerging as sociotechnological change pushes learners back on an instrumental learning treadmill to overcome an inferiority perpetuated by new-skill ignorance. Here educators and students consider questions of choice and control around selection and participation. As Jansen and Wildemeersch (1992) tell us, the invasion of the system into the lives, learning, and work of individuals results in a growing institutional dependency marked by a devaluation of their experiences and a pervasive sense of helplessness. "Human beings are increasingly forced to play the role of 'holders' of structures which, behind their backs, live a life of their own and develop an internally referential dynamics to which the individual necessarily has to adapt" (pp. 9-10).

Creating this inclusionary teaching-learning habitat to deal with the actualities of peoples' lives is a complex task for transformative adult educators. Viewing instrumental, social, and cultural education as contributory to learner transformation is not an unproblematic notion. There is a distance between adult educators involved in training and development from generally technicist/specialist perspectives and a contingent of critical adult educators who promote the merits of social and cultural adult education. Moreover, in developing and engaging in transformative classroom practices, adult educators must struggle with difficult questions. How do we value particular forms of instrumental education while allowing interrogation of such forms from social and cultural perspectives? How is possible to transform teaching-learning to challenge contemporary classroom cultures too narrowly focused on instrumental methods and techniques? How do we adequately address what Cross (1981) calls the situational, institutional, and dispositional barriers to learning? How might our current classroom practices be implicated in the maintenance of a *status quo* that keeps Other identity-differences invisible? These questions converge in the recognition that knowledge is partial and located, thus demanding a transformative pedagogy that is "a deliberate attempt to construct specific conditions through which educators and students can think critically about how knowledge is produced and transformed in relation to the construction of social experiences informed by a particular relationship between the self, others and the larger world" (Giroux, 1992, pp. 98-99).

Conclusion: Transformative pedagogy provides valuable theoretical insights to adult educators seeking to create a teaching-learning habitat using critical classroom practices. It thematizes building learning communities where identity-difference is recognized, respected, and fostered within a politics of representation and transformation. It values both educators and students as contributors in classrooms as *spaces and places for knowing*. It provides ideas for developing pedagogical practices that enable them to think critically about their locatedness and how they might act as informed, transformed people. It offers a framework for understanding the challenges and risks associated with developing these practices sensitive to instrumental needs *and* social and cultural diversity.

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CULTURAL PLURALISM AS ADULT EDUCATION: ALAIN LOCKE, HORACE KALLEN, AND THE DISCOURSE OF DIFFERENCE

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Abstract: This paper examines the development of the theories of cultural pluralism as laid out by Horace Kallen and Alain Locke. It places their ideas within their own historical context and attempts to link these writers to the current debates about multicultural education today.

Today, adult educators are struggling with questions of multicultural education and inclusion. Inclusion may be defined in many ways - as a means of providing equal opportunity for groups within a changing national culture, as a way of expanding areas of study to include the examination of all groups, and lastly as a vehicle for understanding how education and learning are to be conceived. Much of this discussion is rooted in early twentieth-century arguments about cultural pluralism and adult education. This study examines multiculturalism's roots within cultural pluralism as it was formulated by adult educators Horace Kallen and Alain Locke. The principal research questions deal with the changing meaning of cultural pluralism and its relation to questions of national unity and national character. In particular, it will examine the views of both writers in regard to the importance of ethnic groups as well as their commitments to some vision of American unity. Finally, it will examine the debates within adult education over multiculturalism and how they have failed to understand the complexities of the issues as they were laid out by Locke and Kallen.

Cultural pluralism, as a coherent philosophy of American society, arose in the early twentieth century, largely in response to the problem of absorbing immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe into a "national" culture. Together and separately, Locke (1886-1954) and Kallen (1882-1974) created the terminology and conceptual frameworks used in all discussions of cultural pluralism and intergroup relations. Both Locke and Kallen were considered outsiders. Locke's philosophy reflected his own quest as an African American scholar searching for what he termed "ideological peace" within academic and political cultures often unreceptive to his insights. Kallen's pluralistic conceptualizations attempted to reconcile his experiences as a Jewish immigrant and "secular Zionist" within a predominantly "Anglo-Protestant" culture. Their work and its current incarnation in multicultural education testifies to the continuing need to debate the connections between the individual, the group of affiliation, and the wider culture within American democratic thought.

Conceptions of the Immigrant in Historical Context

The United States has always been a multicultural, vibrantly ethnic nation. Yet the meaning of this diversity has changed over time. In fact, the development of American identity is integrally connected to changing ideas about ethnicity and the immigrant. (Gleason, 1980). From the time of the Puritans through the American Revolution, a constant theme in literature was that Americans were members of a new race. This new country, unimpeded by the feudal residue of Europe, would allow human beings untold freedom. Of course, this vision itself was ethnocentric, ignoring both the indigenous peoples as well as the growing slave population of the colonial period. In the nineteenth century, the concept of Americanism was altered by the immigration of masses of Catholics, particularly the Irish, but German Catholics as well. Vilified and excluded, the Catholics insisted on a version of Americanism that included religious diversity. (Gleason, 1980).

Similarly, the massive immigration of Jews, Slavs, Italians, and Poles at the end of the nineteenth century again raised concern about whether these groups could ever be truly absorbed. Their very presence seemed to threaten what historian John Higham called the Anglo-American core (1984). Those most concerned with the assimilation of these groups called for limits to immigration. Of particular concern was the fear that successful assimilation would dilute a pure American type. One of the most forceful proponents of this view was the University of Wisconsin sociologist Edward Alsworth Ross, with whom Kallen strongly disagreed.

Another approach to assimilation was that taken by proponents of the melting pot, originally conceived as the idea that a new race of Americans would emerge from the combination of all immigrant cultures. "Melting pot" came to be viewed as a pejorative term. As Philip Gleason noted, writers have treated the idea of the melting pot, "as a symbol of everything hateful in the nation's record on immigration and intergroup relations" (1980, p.39).

Horace Kallen and Cultural Pluralism

Cultural pluralism was a reaction to both of the above schools of thought. Rejecting the ideas of an Anglo-American core and of the melting pot, Horace Kallen, first laid out his ideas in two articles in The Nation in 1915. He expanded his initial views in 1924, then essentially let the matter rest until he reopened the issue in 1956. Over the course of these years, his views changed substantially, making it difficult to categorize his work. In his Nation articles, Kallen (1915a, 1915b) argued forcefully against the Anglo-superiority and conformity rhetoric of the early twentieth century. He claimed not only equal status for "non-Anglo" ethnic groups in the United States, but called for a virtual federation or "democracy of nationalities." He maintained that while a common language was necessary for the politico-economic discourse of the democracy each "natio" or ethnic group could retain its own language and culture. He maintained that specific ethnic groups had unique characters which were hereditable and could never be lost. All citizens were members of a particular nation, and Kallen held that in order to cease being "a Jew or Pole or Anglo-Saxon" a person would have to cease to be. All of these groups would come together in "a multiplicity in a unity, an orchestration of mankind" (1915b, p. 220).

This theme with is emphasis on group solidarity and its implications of ethnic determinism was offset by Kallen's later works. For example, when Kallen published Culture and Democracy in the United States (1924), his major concern was the resurgence of the Ku Klux Klan. This led him to focus on cultural pluralism as an integral part of American democracy. Kallen maintained that individuals, as embodiments of natios, were at the center of democracy and that their rights were safeguarded by the Declaration of Independence. The Constitution, on the other hand, had been allowed to define liberty as a local and limited concept mandating freedom for some citizens and slavery for others. A vital democracy required both cultural pluralism and "distributive" liberty for all individuals as part of what Kallen called "The American Idea."

Coming back to cultural pluralism in 1956, after a relatively long hiatus, Kallen no longer maintained the indelible nature of ethnic connections. Instead, he shifted from natios to individuals as embodiments of natios. At this time, he discussed a wide range of diversities. He also explicitly connected cultural pluralism and "The American Idea" (Kallen, 1956).

In his later work, Philosophical Issues in Adult Education (1962), Kallen shifted again, to processes of differentiation at personal, psychological levels. Individuals, situated in earlier works within the context of the natios which determined their very conceptions of themselves, were situated in this essay within the context of the national ideal, "The American Idea." Education was portrayed, not so much as a vehicle for deepening the relationship between persons and their natios or between natios and other natios, but as a vehicle for breaking old patterns and establishing new linkages in ever-widening spirals of personal differentiation. As Kallen explained:

> Adult teaching proposes to change the adult's status quo into something inwardly altering and expanding, to transmute a repetition and prolongation of "'sames" into a process of differentiation, of development in diversity, into a moving out into new directions (1962, p.59).

Education's purpose was to preserve, promote, and transmit "The American Idea," the idea of freedom as it was expressed by abolitionist Theodore Parker. The "liberation" of the learner, within the context of The American Idea, entailed personal diversification leading beyond the "enthralling" security of the American Dream with its promise of prosperity leading all too often to exploitation. Helping adults "unlearn" those habits of the Dream was adult education's major goal. Kallen proposed that adults rededicate themselves to an uncompromised democracy true to the ideals of the Declaration of Independence. He sought to reconnect individuals to the purest statement of national intent he could identify, one that every citizen could respond to and share. In the process, he departed from his early emphasis on multiplicity, focusing instead on the works of a single person, Theodore Parker. The many harmonics of "Democracy versus the Melting Pot" were evolving into a symbolic solo. Kallen's ultimate confusion was that he still maintained the idea of an American core, although it was not the Anglo-American core of the past. In the end he neglected some of the same vital distinctions sacrificed in the earlier melting pot rhetoric.

Alain Locke and Cultural Pluralism

Alain Locke, a friend and contemporary of Kallen's, also developed his views of race and culture within the context of cultural pluralism. Beginning in 1907, when they met in England, Kallen and Locke debated the nature of cultural pluralism and the kind of American society to be engendered. Like Kallen, Locke developed his thinking over decades. The first outlines of Locke's views on culture emerged in 1915 and 1916 in a series of lectures entitled, "Race Contacts and Interracial Relations: A Study of the Theory and Practice of Race." Locke developed the idea that race was not a biological condition and racial characteristics were not innate, a novel approach at the time. "Race" was a result of historical and cultural factors. Rather than race producing culture, it was culture that led to ideas about race. "Consequently, any true history of race must be a sociological theory of race. [It] must be a theory of culture stages and of social evolution" (Locke, 1916, p. 11).

The next important element of Locke's thinking about culture was that culture was part and parcel of everyday life. This view was similar to the prevailing social science view of culture as relating to the history and aesthetic production of a group of people who shared a common bond historically, politically, and sociologically. The new Negro movement of the 1920s provided the cultural context through which Locke advanced the idea that elevating the ordinary and everyday aspects of African American culture to the level of universal art would serve the dual purpose of providing a means of cultural uplift to African Americans while demonstrating to others that African Americans were on an equal footing with them. As the emerging outlines of Locke's philosophy of cultural pluralism took shape integrating the cultural basis of race, the conception of culture as part and parcel of everyday life, and the importance of art as a medium of cultural solidarity and social change, Locke saw the goal of education based on cultural pluralism as leading to reduced prejudice and greater cross cultural understanding. Speaking of the role of adult education, Locke said:

> Cultural activities and their special appeals and incentives enhance the self-respect of the people and enable them to assert themselves in healthy fashion in their social and economic group life, urge them on toward the transformation of their social and economic conditions . . . (1938, p. 7)

Indeed, much of his work during the Harlem Renaissance and later in the Negro Adult Education movement of the 1930s (Guy, 1993) reflected these emerging views on culture and society.

In the 1940s, Locke's views shifted, as his attention turned to the structural inequalities that existed between whites and blacks. Locke had repeatedly said that adult education should foster a stronger sense of cultural identity as well as a sense of the place of one's culture in the larger society. But the problem of African Americans was the structural inequality that persisted and continued to place African Americans at the bottom of American society. Locke observed that numerical insufficiency did not translate directly to minority status. Many ethnic groups who were numerically minorities had found ways to assimilate into American society. Yet African Americans did not assimilate and occupied a caste-like position (Myrdal, 1944). The choices available to caste-like minorities were: 1) attempt direct assimilation into the mainstream; 2) remain ethnically and culturally apart; or 3) challenge the assumptions of assimilation and separation at their core and attempt to reconstitute America along the lines of a cosmopolitan, but democratically constituted society where different ethnic and racial groups would compete or ally themselves as groups. Group rights, i.e., the protection of minority group rights, would ensure that political, economic, and cultural inequalities would be reduced if not eliminated (Locke, 1941). This was, in effect, a new vision for reconstituting American democracy. The protection of group rights, especially for minorities, was as important as observing individual rights.

What Locke was suggesting here was a reconfiguration of American society and a rejection of faith in absolute values. Locke warned against any allegiance to absolutism, whether its roots were religious, economic, political, or philosophical. Locke believed that in American society an over-emphasis on individualism as an absolute value had sacrificed minority rights and status even though they warranted protection given the centrality of racial and ethnic group life. Instead, under the conventional wisdom of the era, the fabric of American society demanded universal acceptance of the principles of equality expressed in the Constitution. For native-born Americans, immigrant groups, as well as culturally or racially oppressed groups like Native Americans and African Americans, this meant that learning these values and cherishing them as central to all communal life was absolutely essential. American democracy, according to assimilationist theories, required unquestioning faith in a constitutional discourse based on individual rights and liberties. The lack of acceptance of African Americans as full citizens and participants in American society represented a real dilemma for this American ideal and was part of a larger problem. Any group that was perceived as being different represented a threat to social cohesion.

Locke saw this situation as a paradox of democratic living. Valuing and advancing one's own culture led to the risk of being different and thereby anti-democratic. The dynamic process of interacting with other groups on the basis of fairness and equity while retaining one's own cultural identity was the ideal of cultural pluralism. What Locke contributed to the discussion of cultural pluralism was the problem of power, its abuse, and its relationship to structural inequality in American society. According to Locke, unless some solution could be found to the ongoing problems of inequality and racial or ethnic injustice, peace was not possible and the foundations of democracy itself were at risk. Locke's tentative solution to this problem was to balance the American emphasis on individual rights with the recognition of group rights, thereby defusing tensions arising from chronically unequal power relations (Locke, 1944).

Conclusions

The issues with which Kallen and Locke were grappling seem remarkably modern today. In essence, both were interested in reconciling the competing demands of the individual and the ethnic group within a broader definition of American culture. Both wrote over a long period and their views changed. This has led to some confusion over what they were saying and what their place is within modern or postmodern thought. Today, writers on multicultural education uniformly acknowledge Kallen as the father of cultural pluralism, but they do not always know what to make of him. They maintain that cultural pluralism is one of the founding tenets of multicultural education, but that it does not go far enough. It ignores issues of power and the realities of race and socio-economic status (e.g. Gollnick, 1990). What is interesting is that both proponents and critics of multicultural education use Kallen. Thus Arthur Schlesinger, Jr (1994) in his scathing critique of multicultural education, still identifies himself as a cultural pluralist. Part of this problem lies in the contradictory nature of Kallen's body of work.

Kallen's early work in particular has been criticized on a number of grounds. Gleason (1980) has offered one of the most comprehensive critiques of Kallen's early views. Gleason rightly points out that Kallen was attempting, over a period of fifty years, to fashion a new national ideology. The initial and most influential components of cultural pluralism were somewhat vague in their conception and ignored the political aspects of democracy. The basis of Gleason's critique is that Kallen emphasized the cultural aspects of cultural pluralism at the expense of the political and gave no rationale for how his ends were to be achieved. More importantly, Gleason points out that Kallen's emphasis on the immutability of individual ethnicity was a form of the racial determinism (racialism) which Kallen was trying to counter. Immutability was central to Kallen's early work in which he argued that since groups could not change in fundamental ways, it was necessary for democracy to recognize difference.

While Gleason's critique has merit, it was clear by the 1950s that Kallen had abandoned a racialist approach to cultural pluralism. Kallen had also recognized race as problematic within his framework. John Higham (1984) raised related concerns about Kallen's work observing that:

> Kallen never admitted that cultural differences might flow from or reinforce social inequities. He took no account of the social barriers between groups . . . . The incompleteness and the bias of Kallen pluralism becomes obvious once we ask what role it assigned to the Negro. The answer is: none. (p.210)

Although not quite correct on this matter, the central point is undoubtedly true. What is of particular interest is Higham's next point. Higham castigates pluralist ethnocentrism :

> Possibly that was inevitable. Could anyone have designed a pluralism that would have suited blacks as well as Jews, the minorities that were left behind as well as those that were thriving? Could anyone, for that matter, have built a pluralist philosophy on the black experience? (p.210)

Clearly, Higham and other writers on cultural pluralism have missed the importance of Alain Locke on this issue. Locke's contributions address the very areas in which Kallen has been subject to the most criticism. Locke emphasized the importance of power relations and concern over the structural inequality of American society. Both Kallen and Locke looked to adult education as one way of fomenting a new American ethos which would value diversity. Kallen himself recognized this when he spoke at Locke's memorial service in 1955:

> [H]ow came Locke . . . to give up the idea of equality as identification, as sameness with whites, and to urge equality as parity in and of his difference from whites; hence to see the human enterprise as free, friendly, creative intercommunication between differents and their reciprocal enrichment thereby? (Kallen, 1957, p.121)

It is clear that Kallen and Locke diverged in their approaches. Their distinctive philosophies can inform, extend, and enrich the current debate. The tensions that they uncovered within cultural pluralism still continue to shape discussion of multicultural education today.

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LITERACY: ISSUES OF CULTURE, GENDER, AND HIDDEN CURRICULUM

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Abstract: Family literacy is a socially-contexted program delivery construct embraced with increasing fervor in recent years. Recent studies of family literacy programs for immigrant populations suggest that those who design and operate such programs must pay greater attention to hidden curriculum and social context issues including gender, culturally-mediated interpretations of the purposes of education, appropriate mother tongue usage, enhanced community participation, and more effective application of existing adult learning theory.

The notion of family literacy has much appeal, for it reflects--in name at least--the understanding that literacy is developed and used in a complex social context. Family literacy programs for immigrant populations, increasingly evident in recent years in many urban and coastal cities of North America, present a particularly complex set of issues regarding the theory and practice of family literacy that yield promising insights regarding gender, cultural constructions of the aim of schooling, and adult learning theory. This paper presents a meta-analysis of four recent qualitative studies of family literacy issues with immigrant families in Northern California. Two studies were conducted with families from Mexico, one with families from Guatemala, and one with Mien families from Laos. All studies employed mother tongue interviews and participant observation, two involved focus groups, and some involved surveys and analysis of children's academic performance records. Data were gathered from a total of 39 families.

Questioning Gender Role Conceptions. Most family literacy programs appear to focus on the interactions between the mother and child in the family in relation to the child's education. Few specific efforts at including fathers or other adult males were visible in these studies. By way of example, at a recent statewide meeting of family literacy providers, only one program was identified to offer activities at night, a time when working parents might be expected to be available to participate. Interviews with families participating in family literacy programs indicated a substantial desire on the part of mothers that fathers participate more in the programs, and an accompanying interest on the part of fathers in doing so given time, opportunity, and appropriate activities. To illustrate the economic limits on program participation, one Latino father noted:

> *Normally the time I have is for work. I start at 6 and finish at 9 at night. Today is the only day that I have off in the afternoon... One works here barely making it. You need to work in order to be here... I would go to the program more but I can only get permission two or three times from work.*

Lack of male participation in family literacy programs may be related, at least in part then, to the programmatic structure of many programs. Fathers and mothers note that if there were program activities offered at times when fathers' work schedules permitted, and if activities were targeted towards fathers' assessed needs and interests, fathers' participation could be increased substantially.

It should further be noted that the "daytime only" designs of many family literacy programs not only limit the participation of working fathers, but also reinforce only one model of family organization--that in which there are two parents, where the father works and the mother stays home. This model is less and less reflective of current economic and cultural realities in many parts of North America. Such an implied endorsement of traditional family structure, while it may account for the continued government funding of family literacy programs, also represents a clear perpetuation of gender stereotypes. In a time and cultural context when numerous alternative forms of family are emerging, it would seem important for the family literacy conception to be expanded to be more inclusive of contemporary constructions of "family".

Beyond the issue of accessible program design, fathers and mothers also indicated that gender-related differences in program participation rates were equally strongly influenced by established gender roles in the family as informed by societal and cultural values. Mothers expressed that it was their role to participate in the education of their children, suggesting that fathers do not perceive themselves as having the same role. Men, too, often suggested that their principal role was to be a provider for the family and to act as a support to the mother in the education of the children. In further discussions, fathers reflected critically on their own upbringings and home cultures as sources of their current attitudes regarding their children's education. Most suggested that the lack of educational support they received as children from their own fathers may have had a negative influence on their own development. They further believed that their fathers' non-participation in their children's education was linked to cultural values in the country of origin, as well as a lack of opportunity and guidance. Many mentioned that it was not common for their fathers to assume an active caregiver role in the family and that if they did assume this role, they risked being ridiculed.

Although currently many immigrant fathers view their primary role in the family as provider, most believe that their role in the education of their children is just as important as that of the mother. In an interesting validation of the possibility of perspective transformation in adult learning, many have decided, subsequent to their immigration to North America, that they must take a more active role in the education of their children. They have done this as a result of observing other fathers they see in their local schools participating actively in the schooling of their children. As one father noted,

> *Well, in the school where my daughter is now, I see a lot of participation from the fathers. There is a lot of participation, a lot, a lot of participation. And I think it's because when you come to this country you start to become more aware because both (parents) are now working. In my country no. Since the man always works and the women attend the children's things. Here everything is more shared since the man and woman work, right, and men participate more.*

Although differentiation by gender appeared evident in the parents' conceptions of the father's and mother's roles with respect to schooling, there was little evidence in these studies of parental gender bias in terms of educational expectations of their male or female children. Most participants suggested that they held similarly high expectations and goals for both their sons and daughters. While longer time in the new country and greater knowledge of educational demands of the future and the workplace came to be reflected in higher educational expectations and goals for children, parents appeared to hold similar expectations for both sons and daughters. In fact, in one study, when parents were asked if they had different educational goals for different children, all parents were confused by the question. After clarification that the question was about gender, parents stated that they not only had the same high goals for all their children, but that they had never even considered different goals for their boys and girls. This finding may help to dispel a stereotype sometimes expressed by educators regarding Latino families.

Gender-related findings of the studies reported here indicate several potential programmatic recommendations. In order to address current economic realities in which there are families where both parents work in a family, in which there are families with a single parent who must work, and to be more inclusive of fathers, programs should be designed to include evening hours. Furthermore, staff members in programs studied were exclusively female. Employment of more male staff would likely increase male parental involvement in programs. In programs studied, greater male participation was found in the elementary grades or higher than in pre-school programs. Enhanced parental education directed at males regarding the importance of child development and education in the first five years of life should be provided to address this. Current parent classes and workshops were found to be centered primarily around the interests of women. Altering the focus of these functions to include the assessed needs and interests of fathers is likely, too, to enhance male parental participation.

Culturally-Mediated Understandings of the Purposes of Education. Family literacy programs and related efforts by schools to "reach out" to parents are often stymied by cultural disconnects and conflicting understandings of the purposes, roles, and responsibilities for the education of children. Educators working in immigrant communities often report that well-meant queries to parents about what should be taught are answered with muttered puzzlement: "You're the teacher. Isn't that what you're supposed to already know how to do?"

The current dominant North American cultural perspective on the importance of families in the schooling of children is not universally shared among all cultures. Some clear explication in the mother tongue may thus be required to convey the currently favored notion among educators in family literacy programs and many other schools in North America that a strong family-school connection is desirable. Of course, this principle must then be honestly reflected in the deeds as well as the words of programs and schools, or the hidden curriculum will defeat the publicly-stated ends.

The interactions between schools and immigrant families in the studies reported here reflect a sometimes uneasy set of understandings between parents and schools regarding division of labor in parenting and educating children. Immigrants sometimes feel bedeviled by conflicting sets of messages from schools: in some cases educators can appear to be giving over to immigrant parents responsibilities for schooling the parents feel unwilling or unprepared to shoulder; in others educators are seen as interfering in issues immigrant parents would prefer to handle themselves. A few examples are in order.

Immigrant parents in these studies report occasional uneasiness over the well-meant desire of some educators to construct culturally inclusive school experiences that are reflective of the communities in which children live. The development of oral histories and curricula based upon community stories, for example, would seem a laudable goal from many contemporary educational perspectives, if done in ways that are understood and supported by parent communities. However, in some cases, parental misunderstanding of the purposes of such activities can result in the parental perception of a curriculum that is "dumbed down" or exclusionary because it is not viewed as preparing children for the challenges they will face in a "mainstream" work world that is dominated by standard English speakers of predominantly European American backgrounds. Other parents have suggested that such efforts can be perceived as intrusive if done in a way that causes parental discomfort. Parental misunderstanding of such community-based, inclusive curricular approaches can be exacerbated when they are applied to adult learning contexts. Adults struggling to survive in a hostile work environment may be less than receptive to language experience and storytelling activities that they do not view as leading them to better employment or the ability to navigate the cultural complexities of a new cultural context.

Immigrant adults in these studies also express a complex range of responses with respect to mother tongue usage for the development of their own or their children's literacy. From a research and program perspective, we continue to hear considerable conflicting and ideologically-tinged debate and mixed evidence regarding the impacts of employing the mother tongue for varying educational purposes. It is hardly surprising, then, to discover that immigrant parents display a multiplicity of views in this regard. Many immigrant parents, of course, fully support a role for the school in the development of the mother tongue for their children. But such support is by no means unanimous. Other parents prefer that their children be schooled in English, and that the family take charge of the development of the mother tongue. Immigrant adult views of the use of the mother tongue for development of adult literacy become even more complex. It becomes particularly perplexing, for example, in the case of the Mien from Laos, whose culture is primarily oral. A writing system for the Mien language was developed only with the last few decades, and there are few identifiable everyday literacy practices for which adults would employ Mien literacy. Of course, this is not to undermine the argument that the act of making meaning from text may be more readily acquired in one's mother tongue and thus also readily transferable to acquisition of reading skill in another language such as English. For the Mien family literacy program, the program response has been to press ahead with a mother tongue literacy component, offered parallel to the English language and literacy component. The only specific everyday Mien literacy uses that program staff were able to identify for assessment purposes were reading the bible and making notes to oneself about when to take a particular medical prescription. Mien students have expressed doubts about the purpose or utility of the Mien literacy component in their program, but they continue to participate willingly in the full range of program activities.

Another area of misunderstanding has to do with training for adults in "parenting". For example, Mien adults from Laos in one of the studies reported here have become quite sensitive to the cultural imposition of particular approaches to "parenting" that have been a part of family literacy, adult education programs, or other public agencies. The solution to this issue on the part of the program involved has been to offer training that is quite clearly subject-specific and based on expressed parental community needs. Topics such as the structure of the school system or communicating with the teachers of one's children have been quite successful. Program staff have subsequently carefully steered away from engaging in programming or curricular offerings that could be perceived as encroaching on parental prerogatives. When there is a question about whether something will be perceived by parents in this way, it is discussed first with parents.

Discipline has been a considerable area of concern for immigrant parents in the studies reported here. Parents report frustration at what they see as a lack of discipline in the schools, which they often connect with the rise of gangs and drug use. Simultaneously, they report resentment as they pass on stories of immigrant parents who have disciplined their own children employing means they deem culturally appropriate and are then reported to child protection agencies by educators for abusing their own children. The resulting circumstance is one of frustrating limbo for some immigrant parents. They express the desire for a greater voice in addressing school disciplinary policies and child abuse guidelines, but they see little interest on the part of their children's schools to engage in this sort of dialogue.

A final area of cultural misunderstanding--though others could be cited--has to do with the most basic purpose of a family literacy program: to engage parents, school, and children in intergenerational learning in a variety of school and home settings to lead to enhanced child development and literacy development on the part of children and their parents. Family literacy program operators report frequent frustration over the seeming inability of the parents in their programs to "get it". At a recent statewide meeting of family literacy providers, numerous directors agreed that the parent participants in their programs primarily perceived of the program as "ESL with baby-sitting", largely ignoring the programs' painstakingly-developed parent-child development or home visit components. One could argue, of course, that long-held theories of adult learning suggesting that adults are in part driven by pragmatic, "bottom-line" needs in their pursuit of learning opportunities might well explain this situation. Parents who see acquisition of the dominant language of their new culture as the primary barrier to their family's success and prosperity in that new culture, might well be focusing on the language learning opportunity the program presents, perhaps to the unfortunate exclusion of other program benefits.

A suggested resolution of such problems of cultural misunderstanding on the part of educators would be neither continued rigid, paternalistic imposition of approaches one "simply knows" (or has been taught) are correct, nor total withdrawal to less problem-provoking approaches. Rather, dialogue and respectful negotiation among adults are in order. Studies reported here, and many others, consistently describe the wealth of thoughtful insight that is available from immigrant adult parents regarding their own education and that of their families, if only they are engaged in discourse by means of comprehensible language and adult-level concepts. Use of the mother tongue is clearly in order, as is respect and an attitude of flexibility on the part of program operators. Following Freire's well-known lead with respect to dialogue, the educator in this setting acknowledges holding a point of view, and does not deny the possession of considerable power with respect to education and school-based knowledge. Frequently immigrant adults, upon learning of the intentions or underlying theories that support a particular educational approach, express first amazement, then interest and a desire to explore new approaches. Without such dialogue, however, rumor and mistrust can rapidly spread through immigrant communities, quickly damaging the credibility and effectiveness of programs with considerable positive social potential.

Enhanced Community Participation; Broader, Socially-Contexted Program Goals. The recommendation of enhanced community participation in literacy program design and operation is hardly a new notion. For a program construct like family literacy, which seeks to make a deeper inroad into the social context of children's and parent's lives than does more conventional educational programming, the recommendation seems even more in order. In all of the studies reported here, informed and intelligent enhancement of community participation would clearly go a long way toward resolving some of the misunderstandings that have been reported.

Clearly, a program's capacity to employ culturally-sensitive use of the mother tongue with parent communities is critical for community contact, classroom dialogue, discussion of purpose, and for program planning and evaluation. Beyond this, however, deep knowledge of the culture of the community served is also a key dimension that is needed for effective family literacy programming. What is meant here by "knowledge of the culture" includes generalized background knowledge as well as the specifics of the particular immigrant community grouping. Immigrant communities are complex, often reflecting status, village, and clan structures transported from the country of origin. It is a well-documented pattern in international migration, for example, that people from the same regions in sending countries often end up settling in the same area of receiving countries. Such patterns may be seen in California, where certain neighborhoods of Latino communities may be made up primarily of people from a particular town or region in Mexico. Similar patterns have been noted in Chinese immigration patterns in California, and Laotian Mien resettlement patterns show ferocious adherence to pre-existing clan and leadership structures.

The most effective programs train and make use of community members as staff members. In one program, the sponsoring agency conducts a training program for bilingual aides, some of whom are then subsequently employed as skilled staff in the family literacy program. A corollary to this notion is the development of a sense of who speaks for "the community". Simply because a program has hired a bilingual person, it is important not to reify that single person as "the community". It may well be the case that the person hired carries with him or her a specific set of baggage, including a reputation in the community, which could have positive or negative impacts on the program's ultimate success in recruitment, retention, and literacy development.

An ear to the ground is also an important aspect of community involvement. Rumors travel rapidly in any community, perhaps more so in immigrant communities with limited access to other dominant culture media. If a story about some program shortcoming comes to light, it may be necessary to take action to clarify or correct the story in order to maintain a program's reputation. Family literacy and other related educational social programs may have outsized influence in immigrant communities, simply because of the dearth of other resources available to the communities. Thus, an inaccurate story about a particular program can be seen to carry a higher level of interest and weight--and do concomitant damage--that a similar story in a dominant culture community with many other resources and topics to occupy community discussion.

Finally, a somewhat broader conception of what family literacy programs can do for parents may be needed. Parent participants frequently cite their own linguistic and economic needs as their primary reason for involvement in such programs, and limiting programming to the development of shared literacy activities with children may become problematic as a result for some adults. Many parents--particularly males--argue for family literacy programs to provide them with information and skills they need to make a better life for their families "out there" in the world of work and adult discourse.

Needed: More Effective Application of Existing Adult Learning Theory. Perhaps it is because family literacy programs are often operated by people from "kid side" rather than the "adult side" of public education, or perhaps it is an unfortunate artifact of the continuing marginalization of adult education as a field of practice and study in North American public education, but one clearly sees in the evidence presented by the cases in this study a need for more effective application of well-accepted adult learning theory. In addition, some of the evidence from these cases provides validation for aspects of current adult learning theory.

We see clear evidence in these studies, for example, of the premise that adults are often motivated in their adult learning activities to address basic, practical, and immediate needs. In the case of many immigrant parents in these studies, the needs are English language skill and better jobs. We also see considerable evidence of the desire on the part of the adult parents in these studies to have "a piece of the action" in planning and determining the nature and direction of the programs that will affect them and their children. This involvement, however, must be culturally and linguistically mediated by program operators so that parents have a clear idea of what is being asked of them and how they are being asked to participate. We also see considerable evidence of the need for designing and operating programs based upon the assessed needs of the programs they are aiming to serve. Again, this is not new thinking for adult educators, but the more effective use of needs assessment in some of the family literacy programs studied could have been extremely helpful in addressing the needs of families, fathers in particular.

Finally, we see heartening validation of some of the more hopeful premises of adult learning theory: that adults continue to learn throughout their lives, and that perspective transformation on issues as key and culturally deep-seated as child-rearing and gender roles can take place as a result of combined informal and formal learning experiences.

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"IN A COMPANY TOWN, WHEN YOU NEED HELP, WHERE DO YOU TURN?": THE EFFECTS OF IDEOLOGICAL COLONIZATION ON DEMOCRATIC LIFE IN AN INDUSTRY-POLLUTED COMMUNITY IN APPALACHIA

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Abstract. *The social, economic, political, and environmental history of an industrially-polluted town was investigated, revealing 100 years of education embedded in a master narrative of ideological colonization and power asymmetries shaped by the industry. "Learning to comply" with the dominant discourse resulted in community consent, dependency, and--with the struggle over who would control the meaning of contamination--radical boosterism of the hegemonic discourse. A recently emerged grassroots group chose to control the meaning by appropriating official knowledge, not by constructing local knowledge, as is commonly reported for emergent groups. It is insufficient to say that mainstream knowledge always transports specified (dominant) politics and power arrangements. Rather, these are contingent upon the social and ideological relations in which the official knowledge is inscribed.*

Introduction. The Borough of Palmerton, PA, is a community that began as the greatest single planned industrial site in the world, in 1898, by the New Jersey Zinc Company.[1] From 1898 to the closing of zinc smelters in 1980, the industry annually released 47 tons of cadmium, 95 tons of lead and 3,575 tons of zinc into the air, resulting in a technical environmental disaster. Much of the environment has been impacted, including the surrounding mountain, livestock, gardens, lawns, fishes, and, residents of the town.

In 1982, the US Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) listed the locale as a Superfund site. For six years, Superfund designation remained little known and uncontested, however, in 1989 several citizens learned about hazardous material in the community. People quickly became polarized between two opposing positions. There were those citizens who were averse to the designation--the industry, local government, economic interests, and a citizen's group (the Pro-Palmerton coalition). Those whom endorsed federal listing formed the Palmerton Citizens for a Clean Environment (PCCE). The opposition claimed the federal action was an unwarranted invasion of the town. An "environmental civil war" (Fried, 1994) began in Palmerton over who would control the meaning of the blighted landscape and health hazards. Knowledge at the site was thus multiply constructed.

Purpose of the Study. The contest for cultural authority, engaged between an industry alliance and an the emergent grassroots group was investigated to determine how multiply-constructed environmental knowledge shaped democratic public life. An historical analysis was undertaken to determine the situatedness of the group, and to elucidate the community's "master narrative." The research questioned whether economic interests alone were the cause of civil strife as suggested by government and the media.

Theoretical Framework. A quantitative, ethnographic study was undertaken, using multiple theoretical frameworks: critical pedagogy; emancipatory constructivism; and the environmental justice movement. The "colonization" of people's lifeworld--the intrusion of economic and political systems into the terrain where they come together for definition--was basic to the analysis. Colonization has been found to occlude spaces for democracy within civil society (Briton & Plumb, 1993). The research is premised on the belief that fugitive knowledge, i.e., knowledge outside the control of privileged specialists, like emancipatory knowledge, is "socially constituted, historically embedded, and valuationally based" (Hendrick, 1983).

No single theoretical stand describes citizen responses to environmental contamination; various scenarios have been identified: (a) grassroots groups are marginalized by government/industry alliance that obstructs or delegitimizes popular knowledge; (b) citizen-supported official knowledge is rejected by decision makers who selectively chose sets of data from the scientific canon that support power asymmetries in favor of the elite; (c) protest, (re)negotiation of power, resistance, rebellion, and collective actions; (d) quiescence and despair; and (e) community-based research. The commonality for all scenarios is distrust and antagonism between emancipatory groups and government officials.

Research Design. Qualitative ethnographic and historical/comparative studies were conducted. Informal group discussion, open-ended interviews, on-site observations, news articles, magazines, government documents, public records, oral narratives, meeting minutes, community ephemera, and recorded video tapes served as thick data texts. The ethnographic research component was operationalized through a step-wise immersion into the community in 14 visits, consisting of 80 informant-contact hours to garner comments about the current and past environmental, social and economic history. Recordings and fieldnotes were transcribed, coded, analyzed, and the findings discussed with the informants. Triangulation (Denzin, 1978) of data sources: several evaluators; multiple theories; and diverse perspectives ensured trustworthiness.

Findings: Ideological Colonization and Learning to Comply. Analysis of data revealed that the goals of the industry were to capitalize on human labor; company behaviors/actions were oriented toward maximization of profit through a systematic, strategic, and methodical plan to control community discourse. This meant producing, maintaining and managing the production of knowledge. Ideological colonization resulted in quiescence, dependency and, at times, boosterism, while simultaneously destroying the ecosystem and impacting the health of the community. The industry master narrative was one of control, regulating social arrangements and civil order to meet industry needs, that led to paternalism and dependency. It taught that toil, the engine of steady progress, fulfills God's grand scheme (Woodward, 1920). Throughout the decades, the vessels that conveyed the master narrative changed, but not the message. The various social issues of the diverse periods reflected a reworking of the dominant discourse. Community members learned that only through a faithful relationship to the authority could the divine scheme be realized.

Between 1898 until 1911 more than 400 social settlements developed across America, based on a complex agenda of combating industrial disease, promoting neighborhoods, improving housing for the poor, establishing kindergartens, fighting for trade unions, organizing for workers' rights and fostering adult education. In 1907, the zinc industry joined the settlement movement, hired social workers and opened Neighborhood House, a welfare initiative--and a tool of the colonizers--headed by several settlement workers. It was "regarded as an investment, not a philanthropy" by the company, and one that "had proved its value, otherwise, no such sum would have been sunk in it" (*The North American*, 1911).

Labor strife in the early 1900s directed the actions of the fledgling zinc company to appropriated the ideals of the settlement movement for its own ends. A government report, referencing the zinc industry, remarks that "welfare work and other means of mutual interest" were engineered to produce "more cordial relations between employers and employees" (*Annual Report*, 1915). The company affirmed that social work was aimed at increasing "profit by the greater efficiency of...employees." State and industry blatantly describe the tools of welfare work as apparatuses of domination, producing a pedagogy of domestication. It was noted that assistance would "never go unappreciated. Always there will be better service and greater efficiency." "Fine modern homes" that the company made available for a profitable fee "will invest [an employee] with a sense of ownership and mutual interest that can not be countered by ordinary labor disturbances or usual disquietude." It was noted that workers would "repay such manifestations with zealous devotion to the interests employing it." Through the mechanisms of welfare work individuals learned to comply; to accept the colonization of their lifeworld at the hands of masters who looked after their welfare.

The single most important value, from the time of founding of the industrial town in 1898 to today, is work. The lines are typical, "For all who in sheer honesty do come [to Palmerton]...through WORK serve God" (Colwell, 1937). Work, the basis for the industry's master narrative, is the pathway to virtually all of the values of modernity. Work, the narrative contends, makes a person honest, trustworthy, loyal, free, reasonable, prosperous and successful. It is the father to discovery, it generates competition, and it gives to the laborer happiness. Most importantly, work is offered by God as a means of achieving His grand plan of steady progress toward prosperity. Simply put, God is the "Master of all Good Workmen" (An Old Fogy, 1921). To this day, the Borough motto reflects this ethic, "Palmerton People Prosper."

Learning and the Master Narrative. Initially, educational endeavors were provided to children and adults through the social services of the company-run Neighborhood House. With rudimentary youth education "there certainly could be increases of efficiency...and still more benefits [to the company] if [laborers] could have some vocational training." In the end, education not only advantaged the employer, but "[the company] would certainly render the state a splendid service." Adult education provided by the company to "foreign labor"--seen by them as "raw material"--was for the expressed purpose of transforming "ignorant, incapable, constantly changing laborers" into a position of stability and to "fashion [immigrant help] for the particular uses to which it [was] to be put." Americanization classes, as well as night school, day school, and correspondence classes were seen as valuable company investments. It was acknowledged that kindergarten classes were instituted so to reach adults, through their children, for the purpose imposing the master narrative. The company's sociology department made home visits to learn about the daily life of employees. Although companies could not "inquire into and interfere with the private life of...employees...industry [could] and [would] do so" (Chappell, 1929).

The Politics of the Master Narrative. *The dominant discourse placed faith in unbridled capitalism.* The movements of unionism and socialistic ideals after 1916 resulted in a company discourse that iterated, "It does not matter under what economic, social, or political conditions you perform your labor, it always will be a matter of exchange of your own labor for the labor of others in some form or another." Capitalism was constructed as the ideal, while unionism painted as a condition that submerged ability, capacity, ambition, and individuality.

When the American society wrestled with Darwinism, after the Scopes Trials in 1925, evolution became the trope for the master narrative. The company proclaimed, "They enact laws in Tennessee...they bar the theory of evolution from the public schools" but "corporate business is still evolving" (Trimble, 1928). We come to learn, however, that the evolutionary end-stage was no different than the pre-evolutionary discourse: social arrangements could be controlled by humanizing the industrial machine to produce "better men, healthier, happier, more contented in their homes, and more enthusiastic in their jobs...who give the highest character of service, the best they have in them...and thereby earn more profit, both for themselves and for those whom they serve."

The Gender of the Master Narrative. *The dominant discourse was masculinized.* Governor Pinchot of Pennsylvania, in the late 1920s and early 1930s, asked Charlotte Carr to initiate a "women's bureau." During this period, she was appointed Secretary of Labor, the same bureau that two decades earlier had praised the work of Palmerton's Neighborhood House. Noted for unlady-like qualities such as "cursing, smoking, drinking," she asked threatening questions to industry, such as, "Why should working people weave rugs?" referring to an educational endeavor of settlement work. Texts from this period illustrate a shift in the zinc industry discourse to anti-feminist rhetoric. Women were constructed as the cause of industrial problems. Workers with "bad attitudes" were nothing more than "Rolling Pin Grouches." Women were reproached for industry accidents: "it is strange that since they have been blamed for the original downfall of man that they should not have been suspected of their rightful responsibility in connection with accidents. If asked to designate the most potential accident hazard of an industrial plant the answer might well be the shiftless housewife" (Chappell, 1929). Male absenteeism, tardiness, rowdiness, and "asocial" behaviors, identified by Scott (1985) as tool of resistance used by the colonized, were averted by regulating the behavior of women.

The Color of the Master Narrative. *The dominant discourse was fair skinned.* Very few instances of counterhegemony or resistance to the "totalizing" of life by the company's master narrative could be found. However, in 1915, the director of the Neighborhood House wrote, "almost without exception, we find the immigrant bearing the brunt of the hardest labor. His lack of training, his inexperience regarding conditions of living, his limitations of language and his usually enduring physique relegate him to the rank of the minimum wage earner....In our industries [he] is handicapped not only by these limitations, but oftentimes is up against the race prejudice of a boss who underrates his value to labor" (*Neighborhood House report*, 1907). Racial myths directed employment practices: certain ethnic groups were believed to have broad backs, better built for heavy labor, while others could endure the heat of furnaces and were matched with jobs that produce sweaty brows. The belief that immigrants had *enduring* physical characteristics translated into few advancements in the company.

Palmerton Today: Recycling the Master Narrative. To have been colonized is a fate with lasting, results. This article opened with the positioning of a civil war of values in Palmerton. The industry master narrative of control, regulating social arrangements and civil order to meet industry needs, that led in the past to paternalism and dependency, is still recycled. During the course of this study, Borough Council was faced with the decision to arrange for restoration of contaminated sections of the town park. The options included, requesting federal moneys for the remediation, or going to the industry for assistance. They chose to call upon industry for help. Social arrangements are still regulated [illegible] a discourse that inhibits inpatient screening for industrial diseases at the local hospital, de[illegible]vidence there are community health problems. The local school district has no answer[illegible]en questioned whether they have performed comparative evaluations of child development and learning to determine if heavy metal contamination has impacted the youth of the community.

The members of the town who supported federal Superfund designation asked the question, "In a company town, when you need help, where do you turn?" For them, the answer was in the master narrative: the reproduction of patriarchal relations. EPA, with its positivistic, techno-rational knowledge was promoted by the grassroots folks. Official knowledge became their primary source of struggle, hope and possibility. In the context of dependency and ideological colonization, they did not produce a counterhegemonic discourse or alternative ways of knowing, as do most groups. Instead, they took up mainstream knowledge, often associated with hegemonic powers that oppress communities. Codified knowledge was the sole basis for learning, and precluded the desire for fugitive knowledge.

Summary. In the absence of fugitive knowledge, the grassroots group gathered, shared, stored, recombined, disseminated, and used official government knowledge as "competitive knowledge," i.e. knowledge in competition with the knowledge constructed by the polluting industry. Aligning with makers of official knowledge, allowed members to break feelings of dependency on the company, even if it was transferring dependency and powerlessness from one authority figure to another. They believed that the government had a social obligation to act on their behalf, in a way that the industry never had. Bolstered by official knowledge, their fate at the hands of industry was less threatening. Codified knowledge was the terrain of possibility, not marginalization. In the face of community silence about environmental problems, and in contest with industry boosters, government help was all they felt they had. This study shows that power politics of the elite group are not necessarily immutably bound to official knowledge. It is insufficient to say that mainstream knowledge inherently transports specified politics and power arrangements. In this case, official knowledge opened up a space for the cultivation of a will to resist a century of ideological colonization, and was a promise of possibility. The study showed that power symmetries are contingent on the social and ideological relations in which official knowledge is inscribed. It was through official knowledge that some adults learned to transgress--to develop an "oppositional consciousness" (Harding, 1986). The grassroots community inhabited a cultural space built on democratic possibilities, broadening the social discourse.

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[1] In this study I use the term "zinc industry" in a non-discriminating manner. It is intended to imply functional behavior, not legal ownership. his study does not imply or otherwise state legal wrong doing by any parties.

CREATING A LEARNING ORGANIZATION, CREATING A CONTROLLING ORGANIZATION: A CASE STUDY OF TOTAL QUALITY MANAGEMENT IN AN INDUSTRIAL SETTING

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Abstract: This study investigated the impact of a TQM program on hourly workers in an industrial setting. The paper argued that the basic skills program and the TQM process were implemented in the guise of education and training, but were driven by a corporate policy to reduce labor costs. The paper examined the way in which adult education was complicit in defining and controlling workplace knowledge. Data were collected through interviews with management personnel, education and training providers, and hourly workers.

Introduction: *I've worked here 26 years. I have nine more years to go and I'll never get another raise. See, I'm classified as a dummy (hourly worker). The TV monitors are now in place. Is anyone going to let us know what all the colors and numbers mean, or is this all part of a new test to see how fast we can figure them out by ourselves (hourly worker)? I've had women experience nervous breakdowns due to the paper and pencil tests given here and being demoted from their jobs (literacy teacher).*

These statements were made after a plastic molding company introduced a Total Quality Management (TQM) process, including an extensive basic education program, into the workplace. This paper argues that the basic skills program and the TQM process were implemented in the guise of education and training but were, in effect, driven by a corporate policy to reduce labor costs. Further, the paper examines the way in which adult education was complicit in defining and controlling workplace knowledge as well as creating worker resentment and demoralization.

The research used a case study design informed by a critical perspective on the social and ideological basis of work and learning. Data were collected through interviews with management personnel and education and training providers. Interviews with hourly workers were conducted on the shop floor. One member of the research team participated in the TQM training process. In addition, the research team had access to video training materials and internal strategic planning documents. For the purposes of this paper, the analysis focuses on experiences of two hourly workers and the company's Education and Training Manager.

Overview of Plastiform: Plastiform, the pseudonym for a regional manufacturing plant of a multinational corporation, employed 220 full-time hourly workers divided among three week-day and two week-end shifts. The 20 person management team included the plant manager, six managers with functional responsibilities and shift supervisors with oversight of daily operations. The company drew its workers from the surrounding, overwhelmingly white communities, and traditionally hired an approximately equal number of males and females. Until recently a high school diploma or GED was not required. Approximately one-quarter of the hourly workforce never completed high school.

Plastiform, according to its hourly workers, used to be a good place to work. Originally a family-owned business, Plastiform had a protective and paternalistic attitude towards its employees. Workers tended to stay with the company for a long time and it was not unusual to see family members work side by side. For example, one woman and her three sons worked at Plastiform for a familial total of 73 years. Although not unionized, wages at Plastiform tended to benefit from the area's large unionized workforce. In fact, the company was considered a good place of employment for those who could not get jobs in the unionized steel and machine works.

Structurally the organization reflected a union environment paying relatively high wages, giving bonuses and making promotions based on seniority. While there is some evidence to suggest that hourly employees romanticized the "good old days," and that the familial and paternalistic policies of the company were not unproblematic, hourly workers unanimously agreed that their working conditions had deteriorated drastically over the last few years. The reasons for this dramatic change, we argue, was the introduction of a new management process, TQM, and its subsequent repercussions.

Corporate Discourse on the "New Worker": During the 1980's the demand for a new education and training agenda reached its crescendo. The corporate blueprint called for a "package" containing responsible adaptable workers with appropriate communication, thinking and problem-solving skills. Focusing on quality, team approaches to work organization depended on enterprising workers capable of lifelong learning. (e.g., Handy, 1990; Marsick & Watkins, 1993; Redding & Catalanello, 1994; Senge, 1990). However, as Douglas Noble has argued, such rhetoric, though couched in language of worker participation and knowledge, actually masked a new, some have called it a postmodern, way to control workers. Masked in the language of skills, the new worker is instead expected to develop new attitudes on the job (Noble, 1991). Lund and Hansen, in a study of new worker requirements, stated that the most important skill required by the new worker was the ability and willingness to take individual responsibility for part of the production process. Thus, responsible behavior became the most important skill. Indeed, the language itself is framed within psychological notions of control. Workers needed to develop mature and sophisticated skills of cooperation and part with rules constraining the range of work an individual can do (Lund & Hansen, 1988).

The corporate discourse of TQM, purported to be a data-driven, complete, neutral management philosophy, encompassed reduction in variation and the ability to measure quality thus producing customer satisfaction. This approach, in theory inevitably leading to improved productivity, tapped the job knowledge of those closest to the actual processes being examined in order to remove systemic defects. Workers empowered and involved in the decision making process would view themselves as valued contributors, thus continually improving their productivity. Moreover, to produce better solutions, the knowledge of workers is harnessed within the foundational concept of teamwork and structured problem-solving. Therefore, the corporate discourse suggested that every workplace contained undiscovered gems of ideas waiting to be developed. The adversarial relationship between labor and management could now be viewed as counterproductive and outmoded (e.g., Katzenbach & Smith, 1993; Scholtes, 1988; Senge, Kleiner, Roberts, Ross, & Smith, 1994; Walton, 1986).

At Plastiform, corporate headquarters adopted a new business plan based on TQM in 1992. Plastiform's business plan had three major components: 1) upgrade the basic skills of the workforce, 2) qualify for International Organization of Standardization (ISO9000) certification, and 3) implement a computer integrated manufacturing system. In announcing the new plan to the workforce, the CEO stated in video tape format that in an increasingly competitive global marketplace, quality and customer satisfaction must become the driving force. The CEO remarked: "We will do this through total quality. Plastiform will have a true culture of continuous improvement." By creating a team-based, knowledgeable and empowered workforce and emphasizing customer satisfaction, Plastiform promoted the idea that TQM would ensure continued profitability. However, the researchers obtained a videotape of the CEO's address to upper-level management at corporate headquarters which suggested a different rationale for introducing TQM. The primary reason for the introduction of TQM, the CEO stated, was to *maximize shareholder value*. In actuality, the motivation was to increase profit in an already profitable corporation. The primary means to increase profitability and therefore maximize shareholder value was to cut labor costs These initiatives drove the agenda of the local manufacturing facility that needed to reduce its own cost of labor in order to give back to corporate headquarters an increased percentage of revenue The role that education played in this process and the impact of this policy on the hourly workers at Plastiform is discussed below

Implementing TQM: The Story of Three Workers: Jim and Tracy were both classified as press operators Jim dropped out of high school for an entry level job on the shop floor and 26 years later still worked at the same set of presses He learned the press operation and could diagnose problems by listening to the sounds of the presses He became an expert at knowing which products produced which kinds of defects Through experience, he knew which technicians to call for different types of problems and could very often fix problems by himself Jim could maintain a set of presses, keep production going, and through cooperation and good humor, earned the respect of his fellow workers After 26 years at Plastiform, he earned a competitive wage and owned his own home Jim felt he had a job for life and expected to retire from Plastiform

Tracy came to work at Plastiform between marriages The job allowed her to support her two daughters She was a high school graduate with lots of ability and limited options With 11 years of experience, she worked all three shifts This disrupted her family life She recalled working second shift and her daughter arriving in the cafeteria to show off her prom dress At the time of the interview, Donna had remarried, was a grandmother, and her income supported leisure time activities rather than family

Ramana, an experienced adult educator, conducted basic education classes at Plastiform through a state funded program administered by the local literacy council Ramana was a reading specialist with twenty years of experience She provided remedial classes in reading and math for hourly workers While the state grant paid Ramana's salary, the company provided space, materials and paid release time for participation Hourly workers who had been out the classroom for years worked up the courage to test the learning process again Impressed with Ramana's capabilities, the company hired her as their new Education and Training Manager, a position of increasing importance after the introduction of TQM

With the corporate decision to implement TQM processes, plant management came under increasing pressures to not only adopt continuous quality procedures, but also to cut labor costs, the hidden agenda behind the TQM plan Using the language of TQM, management announced a work reorganization Instead of operators responsible for single machine, work teams were organized to monitor a multiplicity of machines and procedures Hourly workers, management announced, would now be empowered to make decisions on the shop floor Meetings explaining TQM were held for all Plastiform workers A four-day seminar on the continuous quality improvement process was held at a local hotel for all workers The objective, according to the plant manager, was to totally change the culture of Plastiform, the company would become a continuous quality organization focused on customer satisfaction Informal and incidental learning on the shop floor was replaced by formal training and certification programs In accordance with TQM's emphasis on training and measurement, (referred to by management as "if it moves, train it; if it doesn't, calibrate it"), hourly workers were asked to train co-workers on various tasks

A first step toward continuous quality improvement was to determine the educational level of the workforce, given that a knowledgeable workforce was key to the success of TQM implementation Plastiform had never evaluated employees to assess job performance or to decide on pay increases Only the most grievous infractions were documented in the personnel file Company needs now met education expertise in the form of a standard educational testing instrument The company announced a plan to divide the job category of press operator into two separate jobs They divided the tasks into a process monitor with clerical responsibilities and a product packer who boxed, palletized and performed general housekeeping duties. Hourly workers were now split into two distinct groups, one group supposedly having a significantly higher level of skills than the other. In her first official act as Education and Training Manager, Ramana administered, with some reluctance, the Test of Adult Basic Education (TABE) Problem Solving Examination to all hourly workers. The result of the test was an artificial division of labor based on the assumption that some workers only "do" and others "think."

By sorting work activities into two new job titles, Plastiform had devised a way to significantly reduce labor costs. Documents obtained by the researchers revealed that management intended to reduce wages of packers by as much as one-third. However, state labor laws prevented this, so packers' wages were frozen instead. The company instituted a policy of hiring only high school graduates who passed the TABE test. New hires became process monitors while new packers were provided by temporary agencies. Interestingly, the company looked to reduce the packers' hourly wages by one-third, but committed 2.5 million dollars to purchase a TQM training program.

Jim reacted to the testing procedure with bewilderment and anger. He did not pass the test and was classified as packer. Facing a decade of work until retirement, he would never get another raise. Years of expertise, product knowledge and company loyalty were repaid with humiliation and menial work. A relationship had been erased and trust broken. Jim no longer had a desire to work hard for the ultimate success of Plastiform and said, "This place used to care about us, but now I wish I had never come to work here." Jim participated in TQM training, but felt there was no process to improve. He made a box, he filled a box, he sealed the box. The company had labeled him a dummy and given him activities where no process improvement was possible. For Jim there were no quality issues, nor were there any benefits stemming from TQM for himself.

Tracy passed the test but was also bewildered and angry. She said Plastiform's policies were unjust and unfair to all the workers in the plant. Tracy also participated in TQM training. However, Tracy did not do it not out of loyalty or dedication to the company. She was willing to work for the company and be trained in TQM because she saw the health of Plastiform as important to her way of life. She was middle-aged and saw no advantage to going back to school because there was no place for her in the organization beyond her current position. It was important to her that the company survive. Tracy understood that she must play her role in order for it to do so. She participated in training and learned to be a trainer, but said, "Who wouldn't like the training - you get out of work for a day, get to talk to people, a free lunch and all the soda you can drink."

Interviews with line workers revealed that while there was general agreement that training might be a good thing, almost all also agreed that learning on the shop floor continued in the same way as before -- by trial and error and informal processes. TQM was, as Tracy noted, the latest in long series of management techniques and training initiatives introduced at Plastiform.

TQM and the Management of Human Thought. In her analysis of the language of TQM, Bensimon (1995) noted that TQM's first postulate defined quality as customer satisfaction. However, quality was also a reflection of the interests, values and beliefs of those with power (stockholders, customers, etc.). TQM did not always benefit the larger community. Second, quality consisted of the reduction of variation and elimination of defect. These concepts required shared beliefs about knowledge and fixed meanings. When applied to humans, the workforce was "manufactured" to meet the specifications of the customers and management. Third, quality was measurable. This implied that difference equaled inferiority and reinforced the concept of social similarity. TQM was the total management of human thought and identity. It created a hostile environment for dissent. These techniques normalized and totalized in the name of global competitiveness. Humans were identified in terms of external and internal customers and the spirit of the process was to stamp out variability. The flow of input and output became a terminal end in itself. The idea of TQM was not new, the goal was to get more from less with less human involvement because humans were expensive (Sewell & Wilkenson, 1992, Dennis, 1995).

As this research has shown, the new worker must show commitment, motivation and obedience to the organization while expecting little in return beyond the opportunity to have a job. Included in this is a willingness to accept increased responsibility for decision making, customer satisfaction, increased communication skills all while being a team player. Their so-called skills, Noble (1991) argued, ensured worker adaptability to corporate decisions concerning products, markets, production process, and technologies in a global economy. Underlying these new attitudes was the ability to learn. Learning became the central function of an organization and its workers. With the short life cycle of products, a move away from mass to customized products, workers had to constantly engage in learning and become multiskilled. However, these new jobs required little technical skill (Lund & Hansen, 1986). Thus, as Noble (1991) noted, the ability to learn was a shallow substitute for real learning. It was adaptability, but not in the sense of intelligent wherewithal and cleverness, rather it was the kind of flexibility with no inherent direction of its own. Learning of this kind was the adjustment of people, viewed as one of several resources in the production process.

What were the outcomes of the education and training initiatives at Plastiform? From a critical postmodern perspective, when definitions of literacy and "management" programs were imposed on workers rather than constructed by them in dialectical action, education became a weapon for disempowering workers by devaluing their experience, ways of knowing, communication and construction of meaning. The focus on performance was designed to supply the system with players capable of fulfilling their roles in the jobs required by the company. Training, both for TQM and literacy, became a sorting system to determine who succeeded and who did not, it was a product of hegemonic discourse and management technique.

Conclusion: Our study concluded that workers operated within the context of contradictory signifying systems. The rhetoric of learning and total quality management purported to create an empowered, flexible workforce based on a culture of trust and equity. In a TQM environment theory said the knowledge of all workers was equally valued in problem identification, diagnosis, and resolution. All perspectives were given equal voice. The use of an academic instrument to sort workers created an artificial caste system. Despite the knowledge accrued through years of experience, those who failed the test no longer had a voice. Those who passed the test became the keepers of the knowledge, those who failed the test because the keepers of the label gun.

The reality at Plastiform was that workers were subjected to internalized mechanisms of control and a false sense of agency. In buying into the corporate program, workers were objects of the tyranny of management theory and management's economic agenda. Adult educators were complicit in allowing the corporation to meet their goals using education and training as a facade. Literacy education and TQM became a weapon for disempowering workers, devaluing their experience and ways of knowing, and their construction of meaning. In this case, education became the arbiter of justice, legitimating the sorting of employees and providing validity for what was *done to them*.

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THE PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT OF ADULT EDUCATION PROFESSORS: A QUALITATIVE INQUIRY OF THE KELLOGG FACULTY SEMINAR PARTICIPANTS

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Abstract. Qualitative research methods were used to focus on the professional development of adult education professors who participated in a Kellogg faculty seminar. Findings include a phenomenological understanding of the nature and significance of the participants' professional development experiences.

Introduction. Faculty professional development is vital to the quality of both higher education and the academic profession itself. While professors engage in various opportunities of professional development, there is a need to examine the nature and significance of these endeavors. A review of literature found little research directly concerning the professional development of adult education faculty. The purpose of the current research was to understand the nature and significance of professional development of adult education professors through studying a select group -- the Kellogg Faculty Seminar participants.

During 1987 and 1988, the W. K. Kellogg Foundation funded the Department of Continuing and Vocational Education of the University of Wisconsin at Madison to conduct two years of "Faculty Seminar on Future Directions for Continuing Education." Two cohorts with a total of 33 adult education professors in North America were nominated and identified, by the project's advisory committee, to participate in the Seminar.

According to Adrian and Apps (1990, pp. 65-66), the Kellogg Faculty Seminar was unique in facilitating the participants in three ways: "1) to better understand what it means to be a professor; 2) to see the relationship of their individual research to research across the field of adult education; and 3) to compare similarities and differences within academic institutions across North America." The Seminar activities mainly included: 1) residential conferences; 2) participant career development projects; 3) networking, mentoring, and access to the consultants; 4) on-line database searching and electronic communication; and 5) discussion of future directions in the field (Adrian & Apps, 1990).

In accordance with the core purpose of the current study, the information sought is twofold, concerning the general participation in professional development of these Kellogg Faculty Seminar participants and their significant experiences of professional development. On the assumption that these select adult education professors are active in, committed to, and reflective about their professional development, their shared insights were solicited and are assumed to be valuable and informative.

Research Method. A purposive sampling strategy was employed. In order to gain a depth of insight into the phenomena investigated, a qualitative approach was used. Questionnaire and in-depth interview were the two chief complementary data collection techniques. In addition, relevant documents were reviewed to provide supplementary information for

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[1] This paper is based upon the author's doctoral dissertation entitled "Professional Development of Adult Education Professors: A Qualitative Inquiry Into A Selected Group", under the direction of Dr. Nancy E. Hagan, whose continuous

critique on this paper is highly appreciated.

purposes of verifying and corroborating the data obtained. The questionnaire solicited: 1) general information; 2) a timeline of professional development; 3) general participation in professional development; 4) an assessment of the Kellogg experience; and 5) a timeline of career development. Semi-structured interviews were conducted. Subsequent to completion of the questionnaire, the participants were asked to describe a few significant professional development experiences, and to reflect specifically on five aspects: the nature, triggers, challenges, significance, and consequences of these experiences. Both the questionnaire and interview data were processed and analyzed using the constant comparative method described by Glaser and Strauss (1967).

Results. Of the original 33 participants of the Kellogg Faculty Seminar, 21 participated in the current research. A summary of the demographic description of these participants appears in Table 1.

Table 1. Demographic Description of Participants of the Current Study (N=21)

Characteristics	Categories (# of participants)			
Sex		Female (11)	Male (10)	
Geographical Location		U.S. (19)	Canada (2)	
Age Distribution	<40 yr. (1);	41-45 yr. (7);	46-50 yr. (11);	>50 yr. (2)

Eight participants were professors and nine were associate professors. At least half of the participants had administrative responsibilities of some sort in addition to the regular functions of teaching, research, and service. Covering most of the course domains or specialty areas found in graduate adult education programs across North America, the courses the participants regularly taught ranged widely with the most frequently cited categories being *adult learning and development, instructional methods, and planning and evaluation.* The research interests of the participants varied considerably with the most frequently cited areas of research being *adult development and adult learning.* The professional organizations or events in which the professors most frequently participated were the *American Association for Adult and Continuing Education (AAACE), the Commission of Professors of Adult Education (CPAE), and the Adult Education Research Conference (AERC).*

This study also sought information regarding the reasons for and deterrents to general participation in professional development, as well as the formats and topics of professional development activities in which respondents often participated and/or desired to participate. The most frequently reported reasons for participation include: *contact/network, curiosity, desire to grow in the profession, job responsibility, remaining current, and stimulation. Money* and *time* were the two predominant deterrents, followed by *work-related constraints* and *family constraints.*

The most frequently reported formats of professional development activities in which the respondents "often" participated were *conferences, workshops,* and *reading.* The topics of the professional development activities in which the participants most "often" participated were the areas of *adult development* and *adult learning* followed by the areas of *teaching and instruction* and *diversity*. The desired formats and topics of professional development activities were numerous and diverse.

The interview data mainly address the significance of specific professional development experiences reported by the participants. Information sought included a sampling of the participants' definitions of professional development; significant professional development experiences and their major triggers and challenges; and the significance of these professional development experiences. The *Kellogg Faculty Seminar* was the most frequently discussed significant professional development event, followed by *international/cross-cultural experiences*, and *leadership in professional organizations*. The major triggers of professional development experiences include: *intrinsic factors, tenure track, availability of resources, critical encouragement, assignment, needs in the professional environments, getting involved*, and *other professional development opportunities*. The major challenges involved in the experiences include: *learning process, time issues, collaborative process, leadership role, cross-cultural issues*, and *lack of departmental support*.

With respect to the significance and outcomes of professional development experiences, 22 themes emerged and were divided into four groups according to the frequency and repetitiveness of the evidence. The first group includes the themes that are represented by the most repetitive evidence: *time factor (timing), professional relationships*, and *new or transformed perspectives*. Next are those significances that were the second most frequently and intensively discussed, including *collaboration, self-affirmation, defining focuses, career relevancy, relation to the field, visibility and recognition*, and *sense of contribution*. The third group of themes includes: *intellectual stimulation, contingent outcomes, "beyond the cubby," role modeling and mentoring, enhanced performance, encouragement and support, personal relevancy, sense of learning community, clarified expectations about success in the university*, and *raising credibility*. Finally is a theme regarding *tangible outcomes*. Most of the themes are self-explanatory. Perhaps, one theme that requires explanation is "beyond the cubby," by which, it means the significance of professional development in terms of extending the tentacles beyond the boundary of university academe. The metaphor "cubby" was derived from one participant's.

What follows is a discussion of four significant themes -- time factor, professional relationships, defining focuses, and relation to the field -- within the context of the Kellogg Faculty Seminar. As an exemplary case, the Kellogg Seminar provides a realistic and proper context for discussion because it was the definer of this group of participants and many of them reported its importance as to their professional development. However, it should be noted that no attempt was made to evaluate the Kellogg project, and the professional development experiences reported were many and diverse beyond the Kellogg Seminar. The four themes to be discussed appropriately reflect the significance of the Kellogg Seminar experience and other experiences as well.

Time Factor. A time factor is critical to the significance or the perceived significance of a professional development experience. Nevertheless, the significance of a time factor is usually latent until this very factor is reflected upon. Also it often does not stand alone, for its importance becomes clear only when it is associated with other significant aspects of professional development. The significance of a time factor might point to the simple declaration that "the right thing happens at the right time." Professors at different stages of career path have different concerns and interests; hence, different professional development needs. Barber (1987, p. 34) indicates, "The academy possesses its own guild system. Each rank within the guild has distinctive characteristics and areas of concern for professional development." In the Kellogg Faculty Seminar, there was a mix of early and mid-career professors as the participants. Those (mostly early-career professors) who found a time factor significant concluded that the Kellogg experience came at "the right time." However, as revealed in the research findings, the significant meanings associated with "timing" varied from case to case, and the occurrence of a "timely" event was often contingent in each individual's situation and "could [can] not be always explained" (as one participant expressed). Therefore, timing is a phenomenon that can be described as idiosyncratic and probabilistic.

Professional Relationships (Networks and Colleagueship). Networks and colleagueship are important for professors in many ways such as providing moral support, sharing common concerns, exchanging information and ideas, and taking collaborative actions. The respondents perceived that the Kellogg Faculty Seminar offered the space, time, climate, and support for extensive interactions; and its residential format provided a retreat atmosphere conducive to such interactions. These interactions greatly fostered networking and colleagueship. Beyond the Kellogg Seminar, the participants also developed different networks through various channels such as conferences, professional associations and organizations, different projects, and at their own institutions. Houle (1980) includes "colleagueship" as one of the important stimuli associated with learning in the worklife. Indeed, the Kellogg Faculty Seminar participants agreed that professional relationships were tremendously significant during not only the Kellogg experience but also other professional development experiences.

Defining Focuses. The identification and development of a research focus is crucial for today's academic in a large research institution where most of the study's participants are. One of the objectives of the Kellogg Faculty Seminar was to encourage participants to initiate or continue with their career development projects that could address focus areas for teaching, scholarship, or improved practice (Apps, et al., 1988-1989). Indeed, the Kellogg Seminar proved instrumental in the development of a research agenda for most of the study's participants. Respondents who identified developing academic focus area(s) as a significance of the Kellogg experience tended to maintain the same focus area(s) as their long-term scholarly interests. Academic interests may be developed through various professional development experiences in addition to the Kellogg Faculty Seminar.

Relation to the Field (of Academic Adult Education). For many participants, it was important to have a "collective identity" as an academic member of the field of adult education. In discussing the goals of continuing learning in the professions in general, Houle (1980) addressed the "collective identity" issue; however, the academic profession appears to have distinctive identity issues. One is that faculty, particularly those at the graduate school level, are said to be more loyal to their disciplines than to their institutions (Shulman, 1979; Blackburn & Baldwin, 1983). This phenomenon seems to be largely reflected in the current group of participants because they were concerned about not only their own growth and development in the academic community but also a collective identity of academic adult education. Some of the reasons for the identity concern are, perhaps, revealed by Deshler (1991), and Peters and Kreitlow (1991). Academic issues such as "organizational survival in academia" have increasingly concerned and challenged adult education professors (see Deshler, 1991). This collective concern was also reflected in, for example, the 1993 annual meeting of the Commission of Professors of Adult Education (CPAE), which featured the topic of "developing support for adult education programs on the university campus." The significance of "relation to the field" supports a continuing need for the professional development opportunities that would enhance the connection of individual professors to the field, and enhance their collective efforts to deal with the pressing issues facing the academic community of adult education.

Implications. The research findings offer implications for the provision and consumption of professional development for adult education professors. The various providers of professional development opportunities in this study can be generally categorized into three groups: professional associations, autonomous group (in Houle's classification, 1980), and employing institutions. The findings confirm that participating in professional organizations such as AAACE and particularly CPAE is helpful for networking and developing colleagueship.

The Adult Education Research Conference (AERC) and the Kellogg Faculty Seminar constitute autonomous groups; and this study confirms that the AERC is a significant professional development event for most participants in that this annual conference provides benefits such as "networking and colleagueship," "reinforcement of connection to the field," and "intellectual stimulation." A structure like the Kellogg Faculty Seminar would be a welcome professional development activity for adult education faculty, especially, but not limited to, the junior professors. Senior professors and/or any relevant professional organizations could lead the efforts, using program model similar to the Kellogg Faculty Seminar, to enhance the professional development of mid-career professors and/or especially junior professors in adult education.

The employing institutions and the programs of adult education should, fundamentally, recognize the importance of faculty professional development; and make a commitment to assisting their faculties, adult education professors in this case, in pursuing professional development. This study suggests a few things that the employing institutions could provide: adequate budgets allocated to faculty professional development; a generous policy for faculty leave time (e. g., sabbatical) to engage in professional development; providing counsel to individual faculty for clarifying the university's expectations and individual career goals; mentoring programs, particularly regarding the tenure process; and the facilitating of cross-disciplinary collaboration.

The programs or departments of adult education, as the immediate environments of adult education professors, should make conscious and sustained efforts to support their faculties in pursuing professional development opportunities. Several things could be considered: maintaining a healthy organizational structure so that faculty may have reasonable workloads; encouraging and supporting faculty to make professional and career development plans; implementing mentoring programs especially for junior faculty; encouraging and supporting collaboration among faculty members and collaboration with other programs; and promoting faculty's awareness and concerns for the critical issues and directions in the field.

Ultimately, it is important for individuals to make and update professional development plans. A critical reflection on one's own professional development experiences and the significant meanings for oneself is essential to making good plans; and hence to pursuing productive professional development opportunities. Derived from the research findings, a few examples as to creating professional development opportunities are: developing quality networks and colleagueship through active participation in various activities and professional organizations; collaboration through teaching, research, writing and publishing, and other services; creating solutions such as seeking funding from philanthropic organizations or other agencies and sharing responsibilities and collaborating with colleagues so that time could be more flexibly allocated for professional development (since funding and time are the common obstacles).

In addition to the practical implications above, the research findings help further the theoretical understanding of professional development. An emerging way of thinking about the significance of professional development is through a reflection mechanism, and the time factor is both significant itself and critical (but latent) in the larger context (see Figure 1). The significance of the time factor is a consequence of the interaction between the individual timing and the timing of the opportunity. This emerging framework suggests that an experience gains meanings and becomes instructive only as it is reflected upon.

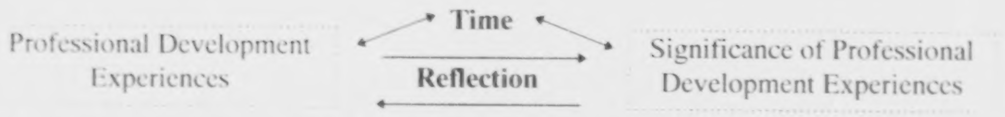
Professional Development Experiences
Time
Reflection
Significance of Professional Development Experiences

Figure 1. Emerging Framework of the Significance of Professional Development Experiences

References will be distributed at the Conference

METAPHORS ACROSS MODELS: ON THE INTERPRETATION AND USE OF METAPHORS IN QUALITATIVE RESEARCH

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Abstract. A conceptual framework that indicates how researchers interpret informants' metaphoric speech, how informants themselves use and understand their own metaphors, and even how metaphors represent "truth" are the often assumed but missing pieces of qualitative research. This paper constitutes research on qualitative research methods in four disciplines: education/adult education, anthropology, psychology and theology. Those results are applied to a review of how informant metaphors are interpreted and used in examples of qualitative research in the four selected research models. The paper concludes with the assertion that researchers should be more forthcoming with the assumptions that determine how they interpret and use informants' metaphors. When metaphors are analyzed in light of these assumptions, a consistent understanding may govern the presentation of findings and conclusions.

... the only answer is to base both the theory of meaning and the theory of truth on a theory of understanding. Metaphor, both conventional and nonconventional, plays a central role in such a program. Metaphors are basically devices for understanding and have little to do with objective reality, if there is such a thing. The fact that our conceptual system is inherently metaphorical, the fact that we understand the world, think, and function in metaphorical terms, and the fact that metaphors can not merely be understood but can be meaningful and true as well—these facts all suggest that an adequate account of meaning and truth can only be based on understanding. (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980) [184]

... Understanding metaphor necessarily involves many interrelated facets of our most fundamental beliefs about the world, as well as the syntactic and organizational structure of our language. (Way, 1992) [123]

METAPHORS IN RESEARCH. The interpretation by researchers of their participants' metaphors is a very personal process (one intimately linked to a researcher's style, strength of insight, the focus of a specific research question, the researcher's practice of the profession, etc.). While there is some research in the social sciences that examines ways participants understand metaphors, little has been found in research methodology literature that indicates exactly how researchers, in fact, do or should interpret their participants' metaphors.

The ways researchers interpret metaphors runs a spectrum from a simple counting and report of them, to organizing them around central themes, to mapping them toward a root or critical metaphor, to ultimately evoking and "drawing out" the multitude of image, word, psychic and emotional associations triggered by a single metaphor. This spectrum parallels research that spans from positivist/non-constructivist/behaviorist experimental researchers to the constructivist/relationalist qualitative researchers and counselors whose work often blends methodologies and "bleeds" across traditional research boundaries. It is for this reason, that this study must proceed cautiously, and also why this study just might be important.

THEORIES OF METAPHOR. When researchers ask, "What does that mean?" they often get the response "It's like ..." They then may interpret the metaphors they hear as description or they may view them more broadly as image-schema. (Johnson, 1991). Metaphors may represent the "tip of the iceberg" for the informant and the researcher. One must begin with a notion of meaning and metaphor before looking squarely at metaphors in research. Researchers often address the methodological issues of their data interpretation in their research, but they rarely address their use and interpretation of metaphors directly. Researcher idiosyncracies abound and no systematic or common practice has yet been achieved in any field on how research participants' metaphors are to be used and interpreted.

People combine the facts of their physical, "literal" experiences with combinations of their preexisting knowledge, emotions, psychic structure, relationships, meanings and beliefs and this constitutes their "reality." Metaphors provide a constellation, a hub, an axis upon which they might communicate this richness when they answer the question "What is it like?" This invitation to provide a "sense" of their experience stretches language to its limits. It requires of language the ability to communicate not just what happened, but how what happened was experienced.

A summary of the literature on metaphors can be found in Leino and Drakenberg (1993). Given the absence of mature linguistic, semiotic, psychological or social sciences prior to the present century, the earliest of these theories of metaphor (substitution theory) speaks of metaphor principally in terms of what it is not, namely, "literal" description. Black (1979) stated that the complex of meaning generated by a metaphor is, indeed, new material, and that it transcends the meaning of both of the terms that constitute the metaphor (tenor and vehicle). In fact, Black posits that both the tenor and the vehicle are complexes or systems of meanings, and therefore the interaction of these two systems–the vehicle implicating or projecting new meaning back onto the tenor–generates new knowledge. Black's interaction theory has formed the basis for many current explorations of the metaphor, but it also opens the doors between studies in metaphor and studies in psychology (cognitive), philosophy, linguistics, semeiotics and computer science. This is the foundation upon which Lakoff and Johnson (1980) have built their now famous theory of metaphor.

Soskice's (1985) interanimation theory of metaphor expands analysis of metaphoric action to include not only the terms (tenor, vehicle, domain/ commonplaces) but the subjects utilizing the metaphor and their environment. The socio-linguistic and psycho-linguistic perspectives of a metaphor should be taken into account in order to fully appreciate its role and function in cognition and communication (Soskice, 1985).

EDUCATION: METAPHORS IN EDUCATION AND ADULT EDUCATION

This report explores the use and interpretation of metaphors in education and adult education in three ways. The first way examines descriptions of research methodologies found in methodology textbooks, and in the methods sections of research presentations. The second is a study of examples where researchers actually claim to be interpreting metaphors as an important aspect of their research. A third method examines accounts of educational practice (pedagogy) where the metaphor is a primary element in the instructional strategy.

EDUCATION: QUALITATIVE RESEARCH METHODOLOGIES

Metaphors carry the researcher's meaning to the research community in the same way that metaphors carry the participants' meanings to the researchers. There is, however, a near absence of any description of how to collect, interpret and analyze informant metaphors in the qualitative research methods documents reviewed for this project. One suspects that some assistance for this work might be found under concepts such as content analysis, coding field notes, or preparing case records, pattern-matching, explanation-building, data-reducing devices, and pattern-making devices, but there is nothing explicitly addressed to metaphors.

LeCompte and Preissle (1993) devote a brief passage to the interpretation of metaphor in qualitative research. It is clear throughout the chapter in which this paragraph is placed that they view metaphors as appropriate material for analysis, but the mode of analysis is the same as that of any other data presented by the research. In the same way as events, artifacts, references, and actions, metaphors are data that can be grouped, typed, and classified. Then they are given some sort of analytic weight to determine what is happening in the field.

Lincoln and Guba (1985) encourage a data analysis process that is somewhat reductionist. Theirs is an attempt to nudge research toward a rule-guided method of processing data. By adhering to self-defined rules (using categories extracted from the data), the process is able to test its own properties and bring forth a consistent and thoroughly grounded analysis based on very specific understandings of what certain kinds of data mean and how classifications of data interact. They tend to discourage an analysis that is derived from intuitive comparisons based on "look-alikeness" or "feel-alikeness"; these would detract from extracting clear and precise meanings or understandings from the data. Van Manen (1990) nowhere explicitly indicate how metaphors should be handled, but he, nevertheless, does indicate the importance of focused attention on metaphors as a way of arriving at a phenomenological expression of a particular event. In other words, for qualitative inquiry that aspires to be phenomenological, metaphors are the linguistic devices most intensely implicated in the communication, construction and evocation of the informant's meaning. Metaphors, in this sense, are heuristic in that they point toward meaning without fully describing it. Returning constantly to the experience of the informant, the phenomenological researcher pushes language to its limits–in a sense, "rides out" on the informant's metaphors until the reader is as close to the informant's experience as possible.

EDUCATION: RESEARCH STUDIES INTERPRETING METAPHORS

Seven research reports that admit to considering metaphors an important part of their research method were analyzed. On the whole, while these researchers place great importance on the use of metaphor in the practice of research (or research into the practice of education), these examples tend to either (1) extract metaphors from or impose crystallizing metaphors on data or (2) categorize metaphors into similar types or usage-groups and then hypothesize as to how the interactions between groups of metaphors form a foundation of an analysis. The metaphor appears to be an analytic tool, one that the researcher uses to draw conclusions or organize data. In either case, the participant metaphors have either been extracted from the narratives or diluted by combining similar metaphors into classifications for comprehension by the researcher and his/her audiences.

EDUCATION: METAPHORS AS INSTRUCTIONAL STRATEGY

Educators have been using metaphors with their students as instructional aids since before Plato tried to describe what reality was by talking about shadows on the wall of a cave. Research into this practice and descriptions of it are becoming increasingly more popular. Deshler (1991) explores the use of such a strategy for adult learners. He examines how an analysis of what informants mean when they use metaphors might uncover "frames of reference, or structures of assumptions that have influenced the way we perceive, think, decide, feel, and act upon our experience" (p 296). Deshler's goal seems to be to design a process whereby adult learners can act on and change their basic life paradigms by reflecting on the metaphors they choose to describe themselves. Then, after extracting and reflecting on the values imbedded in these metaphors, the learners decide whether or not to change metaphor, and subsequently shift paradigm. What is accomplished in the process is not only a shift in paradigm, but an enhanced skill at self-reflectivity by the students. Deshler uses the word "unpacking" to describe the process at the heart of his method.

METAPHORS IN ANTHROPOLOGY. A review of the treatment of metaphor in qualitative research was addressed above. This review of specifically anthropological literature focused on the larger picture of social forces and cultural models and their interpretation and utilization of metaphor. Crocker (1977) examined the metaphor in light of its social function. He explains that the inner dynamic of an individual speaker is an attempt to relate to, respond to, inform and persuade a social interaction. In his conclusion, he identifies two perspectives on the interpretation of metaphors: one perspective understands that metaphors are primarily expressive-performance devices that persuade, hint, point, etc. A second perspective examines metaphors in their role as builders of the common cause-they function as cultural tools even as they are shaped by social forces.

The discussion Cocker began was continued by Holland and Quinn (1987). They analyzed the role of the metaphor and its value for cultural modeling. They see that metaphors are grounded in the physical world, the basic pre-language experiences of people, and therefore, that they are understandable because they draw on physical realities that most people share within a culture. Metaphors supply the image-schemas, the understructure, the foundation upon which social norms operate.

METAPHORS IN THEOLOGY. A few items in theological literature address theological/religious language and metaphors. Soskice (1985) attempts to comprehend the language of belief, which is dominated by metaphors, in order to be able to validate religious claims with a certitude that is at least equal to those claims to "reality" and "truth" of the literalists and literal scientists. She makes a very strong case for the justification of religious language as a language of realism. Soskice concludes that religious language, steeped in metaphor, is based on experience. Experience speaking to experience is born across the bridge of metaphor. Therein lies the realism.

Gerhart (religious studies) and Russell (physics) (Gerhart and Russell, 1984) look at the connection between ontology (being in the world) and the languages that communicate the experiences of that being-in short, how people understand their existence in the world and what they know of that existence. While they do not provide detailed descriptions of this process, they do provide a theoretical framework identifying the tensions inherent in certain forms of language (metaphor) which form the basis for people to be able to describe phenomena that are essentially ineffable (i.e. god).

METAPHORS IN PSYCHOLOGY. Psychology is perhaps the most challenging discipline when looking for a description of the range of how informant metaphors are interpreted and used in research; as a field, it is incredibly vast and profoundly interdisciplinary. For the purposes of current study, a sampling of literature was reviewed that (1) discussed the role of metaphor in the growth of psychology as a science (e.g., how psychological terminology shapes psychological concepts), (2) explored the relationships between metaphors and embodiment (i.e. how people claim their physicality in psychological terms) , (3) described how counseling therapies use metaphors as part of psychotherapeutic protocol , (4) examined the role of metaphors in the ways psychologists understand how people change, and (5) studied the psychological process that allow people to understand metaphors (psycho-linguistics). The purpose of this review was to gain an appreciation of the breadth of the literature on metaphor in psychology, and extract from that literature some guidance as to how it might inform consistent practice in qualitative research where metaphors are presented by informants as data.

The literature on the history of psychology provided an important foundation for this endeavor by confirming that the images one uses to describe a phenomena profoundly shape how one understands and analyzes it. Metaphors used to describe behavior in psychological terms determine how one responds to those behaviors, (i.e., what constitutes appropriate psychotherapeutic response). In conjunction with these insights, the literature on the role of metaphor in the ways individuals express a relationship between the mind and the body provides a bridge between experience and language. Informant metaphors are an essential element for understanding what an event (embodied phenomena) means to that informant. The counseling and applied psychological literature reviewed for this study provided a rich source of insight, but further study needs to be done to extract the psychotherapeutic process from the psycho-theoretical one (i.e. psychologists are more likely to be comfortable asserting that a particular therapy works than asserting why or how it works). If qualitative researchers remain dedicated to presenting the experiences of their informants as the real data (and not simply the researcher's understanding of that data) then the distinction between the informant's story (phenomenon) and the researcher's interpretation and understanding of that phenomenon (theory) must remain clear.

CONCLUDING REMARKS. This all too brief synopsis of a larger review of the various literatures points out several important issues. First, it is clear that every discipline uses metaphors to demonstrate what it knows and how it reflects on the events it is studying. Metaphors shape perceptions, and those perceptions are used to discuss the meaning of the studied events. It seems essential that every body of knowledge should spend some effort gathering its wisdom about the nature, uses and roles of language within the discipline. While metaphors may be the most creative parts of language researchers use to discuss phenomena, they may also be the most slippery. A consistent understanding of the role of metaphoric speech within a discipline would go a long way to gathering researchers onto the same page.

Secondly, as researchers turn more and more to other disciplines for insight, it is all the more important that there be clear understandings among them as to their use and appreciation of figurative language. This will ensure that the richness they bring to each other's endeavors is rightfully received and appropriately used.

And finally, researchers are often intensely focused on describing the events and forces shaping the lives of their informing subjects. Should they choose to convey and study the meaning those events have for their informants, they will need a thoroughgoing appreciation for how their informants use language, most particularly, figurative language. Even as an individual word conveys a number of meanings, word and image combinations convey an even broader array of meaning. "Staying with" informant metaphors can lead to a more holistic appreciation for what informants experience and what those experiences mean to them. Researchers may come closer to hearing how informants answer the question: "What is it like to ... ?" The answers to that question unveil the meanings that the events have in the lives of those being study. Truly and deeply hearing what that meaning is may inform practice in new and exciting ways.

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"A GREAT CONSPIRACY:"
SELF-DIRECTED LEARNING AMONG PROTESTANT CLERGY IN RUSSIA

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Abstract: This study investigated how Protestant clergy in Russia sought ministry education in the years prior to 1987 and what their education and ministry meant to them. Because formal schools and organized programs were forbidden, these clergy undertook clandestine, self-directed learning activities, what one participant described as a great conspiracy. Their collective story presents new insights regarding assumptions, definitions and issues regarding self-directed learning, adult learners, and cultural and social contexts.

Background: The general tone and context of current self-directed learning literature in North America creates a definite contrast with the context of the participants in this study. Understanding their context could not even begin without careful attention to Russia's history. Therefore, an extensive review of Russian history was included in the study's foundational literature review. To merely say that 1,000 years of invasion, occupation, brutal climate, and the 70-year Communist era profoundly shaped and interwove Russian national, cultural, and religious experience could hardly begin to convey the story. Yet space does not permit any more elaboration of the general history even though its impact is crucial. More specifically, under the rule of the Communist Party, the Church suffered a long and erratic period of negative government policies and practices. The more profound costs of that persecution fell upon people. Just as the centralized government attempted to control every aspect of individual life, it's campaign against religion punished religious adherents regarding education, employment, and housing. Imprisonment, exile, and death were regular consequences for religious activity (Smith, 1992; Pospielovsky, 1984; Hill, 1991a).

Yuri recalled his own family's story,

> *My grandparents were part of a [Protestant] church which was forcefully dispersed around the region, forbidden to gather for worship. Nevertheless, the members stayed in contact through correspondence. My own grandmother regularly spent hours everyday writing letters to the scattered believers. In 1937 my grandfather was arrested and shot for his involvement with the church* (Yuri Nikolaiovich, personal communication, 20 June 1994).

Self-directed learning: Given the cultural context and experience of the participants in this research, their quest for learning presents a strong case for re-examining self-directed learning theory. On one hand, the participants in this study compare favorably with characteristics of self-directed learners describing initiative, motivation and goals (Caffarella and Caffarella, 1986). On the other hand, significant incongruence occurs between the participants and the prevalent definitions and paradigm. Bonham (1989), Candy (1991), and Spear and Mocker (1984) organized their definitions of self-directed learning around the settings in which learning occurs rather than the learners. Other theorists shaped the definition of self-directed learning to fit a predisposition to the sociological or psychological aspects of self-directed learning (Brockett and Hiemstra, 1992) while others operated on assumptions of a formalized teaching-institutional context (Garrison, 1989). In the diversity of opinions and theories, the pure meaning of the words, self-directed learning--that learning because of initiative, direction and evaluation from the learner--has been lost. In this study, the phrase self-directed learning describes the centrifugal, purer meaning of the words self-directed learning. In other words, the issue is learner-driven activities of learning.

A second major weakness in the current literature is institutional and cultural bias. For example, Candy's (1991) attempt to organize self-directed learning within the two categories of *goal* and *process* reveals an assumption of an instructional system which imposes a goal for the learner: learning to be self-directed. What is lost is the learners' goals and their initiative. On the other hand, Candy's view of the process of self-directed learning emphasizes the learning behaviors and characteristics of learners who are more or less self-directed, motivated by their own learning goal. However, *goal* and *process* are not exclusive of one another. To place the concept of goal only in an instructional context serves the educator at the expense of the self-directed learner.

In addition to these two concepts of goal and process, Candy (1991) presented the paradigm of two domains which he labeled *instructional* and *autodidactic*. Unfortunately, the polarity proves to be artificial while revealing a clear bias toward an instructional context.

The instructional domain presents a range from minimal learner independence to broad learner independence within the context of formalized instruction by teachers. Other researchers also used the instructional domain as their context self-directed learning. The focus tends to be on the role of educators in developing self-directedness in the learners with whom they have contact. Thus, self-directedness is an outcome educators seek rather than a characteristic of motivated learners.

The autodidactic domain represents the other end of Candy's (1991) continuum of autonomy in self-directed learning. Though the Greek root of Candy's (1991) autodidactic, διδασκῶ, means to teach, the focus is on learning (the learners' activity) and not teaching (someone else's activity). Thus, the autodidactic domain focuses on learners as both learners and controllers of the learning. In this domain, the use of an instructor means minimum autonomy; the absence of any authority or controlling agency implies maximum autonomy. Learners retain control even if they enlist instructional help.

The problem with Candy's paradigm lies in contrasting two concepts which do not harmonize on a single continuum. An instructional context does not compare with learner autonomy, especially if one assumes that the instructional context means imposition of institutional goals unrelated to the learners' personal motivation. The dividing issues are control and responsibility. Furthermore, while self-direction may theoretically be a goal for learners operating in Candy's (1991) autodidactic domain (and self-direction may indeed occur as an observable behavior within the instructional domain), Candy's (1991) foundational concepts tend to be oriented to an instructional domain and institutional goals.

Methodology: A preliminary, feasibility trip to Moscow, Russia, in 1992 established the validity of the question and probability of gaining access to participants. In June 1994 I returned to Moscow where I interviewed thirteen Protestant pastors, most of whom were sons of ministers and thus able to tell of their fathers' experiences as well as their own. Interview tapes were transcribed and analyzed by accepted qualitative methods, yielding a variety of themes. A follow-up trip to Moscow was made in June 1995, providing opportunity to meet with some of the participants again and report the outcome of the study.

Findings: The experience of the participants in this study create a startling contrast to the current theories and issues of self-directed learning. They had no instructors, no institutions. Their goals were to learn about their faith and their ministry. Their motivation was all their own and not external. Yet it was a rich, complex mixture of religious faith and values, desire for skill development (though not professional), a sense of social and familial responsibility, and a deeply rooted sense of self-identity and purpose. Together, the characteristics of these participants left them no place in any of the current, dominant theories of self-directed learning. Furthermore, the unspoken assumptions of western, democratic cultures fail completely for these participants. The barriers they faced were imposed by law: no schools, no study programs, no freedom to practice religion, no right to assemble to teach or study. Even possessing and sharing religious literature was illegal. In choosing to ignore or circumvent these barriers the participants were guilty of criminal activity. When caught, their consequences ranged from loud, intimidating warnings, loss of employment, loss of the family home, to imprisonment and exile. Some participants named relatives and neighbors who suffered death for their religious activities.

Giorgi recalled,

We were coming together in secret and we came one by one in order that no one could see that a lot of people were gathering. And we were watching and careful that no one would notice us. The authorities were against systemized study. We also passed books to one another because we didn't have much time together. It all was a great conspiracy.

Regarding the conflict between their strong motivation for learning and the difficult legal consequences they faced, Pavel said:

We paid for our faith . We lost our jobs. We could not continue our education in universities. But we realized that God is more...our treasure.

Commenting on the way they went about their learning activities, Sasha described how they worked together:

We studied what we could with what we had. When we could, we organized study groups. The more experienced persons would take a subject, like history or apologetics, and prepare a lesson to share with everyone else the next time we met.

The participants in this study were self-directed learners whose motivation was internal and determined. Their attempts at group study, shared leadership, and self-designed organization represented--did not diminish--their individual choices. They did not think about how to be self-directed learners. They simply understood that to accomplish their learning goals they would have to do for themselves. Before 1987 these participants were frustrated by the absence of quality resources and teachers/experts. In the present, they are eagerly participating in organized instructional programs and do so without having surrendered their self-directedness. They use the training programs as opposed to being subordinated to them.

New Definition: The collective story of the participants motivates a rethinking of how we should define and model self-directed learning. As a result the following definition attempts to center self-directed learning on one major characteristic--initiative--with only two variables--control and responsibility.

Self-directed learning refers to any and all voluntarily initiated learning activities which are deliberately undertaken by a person, or by persons together, over an extended period of time for consciously defined goals of attaining new or increased knowledge, skill, personal growth, or value-driven beliefs. The constant defining characteristics are: a) the learners' initiative to begin, continue and end the learning enterprise; and, b) the learners' choices, especially in the key dynamic areas of control--of the framework, such as resources, alliances, and contractual arrangements; and of responsibility--for the content, such as method, topic, evaluation, and meaning; all of which further the learning project.

The learners' initiative is the unifying issue, with a distinguishing focus on centrifugal, learner-centered activity. The meaning of initiative, as used here, is simply a personal capacity for thinking of and taking action toward a learning project; acting on one's own idea without prior prompting. Initiative is not a new issue; it is present but not specified in much of the discussion of self-directed learning. Learner initiative is also the framework for examining the concepts of motivation and learning goals. In balance, the concept of learner choice represents the outward, visible activities of the initiative. By definition, self-directed learners face a wide array of choices throughout their learning project. In regard to the major variables of control and responsibility; learners may choose to limit one and/or the other as a part of their process of choosing resources or experiences in pursuit of their goals. The issue of setting then becomes secondary, a consequence of other choices. In this study, the focus is on self-directed learning as an observable behavior arising out of the initiative of learners.

Self-directed Learning Spectrum: A new model for organizing self-directed learning follows the above definition. This new model, the Self-directed Learning Spectrum (Kenney, 1995), builds upon learners' initiative as the single major assumption. The learners' freedom to choose (learner choice) provides a continuum which anchors two variables: control and responsibility. Control relates to the framework of the learning activity. That is, decisions regarding participation, setting, goals, time-frame and schedule, technology, and delivery are matters of control for individual learners. Responsibility pertains to the content and process of learning, how the learning is pursued (methods); the specific topics, inquiries, evaluation and applications which the learners focus on within the general topic of the learning project; and the selection and organization of resources, tasks, and personnel by learners themselves.

Format and space limitations preclude the use of a picture or 1,000 words, so the self-directed Learning Spectrum will be briefly described as follows. Two variables, control and responsibility, create a standard 2x2 matrix. The continuum of learner choice is represented by four types of self-directed learners. Since the overarching focus is on the learners, and the learners' initiative provides the unifying assumption, no inference of value or priority may be attached to any of these four types of self-directed learners. These descriptions are based on the definitions and meanings described above.

Type I self-directed learning means that learners have chosen to limit their control and their responsibility in order to achieve their learning goal. Thus, mandatory education is not self-directed learning because the learners are not enrolled by reason of their initiative or choice. A positive example of Type I in the United States would be the person who decides to obtain a private pilot's license. Control and responsibility for the learning project are voluntarily limited in order to conform to an established sequence of prescribed content and skill criteria. Initiative remains the learners' and so does the choice to continue or quit.

Type II self-directed learners have chosen their learning project topic and goal and then choose to pursue their learning project by enrolling in a structured course or program for the actual learning content and process. An example would be persons who, having decided to attain expertise in desktop publishing without having any prior computer experience, enroll in various courses on computer technology, basic and specialized software, graphic design, and printing. The learners retain full control by choosing their own resources (the classes), their own sequence (which classes when), and by deciding when they are ready to take on their first editing job.

Type III self-directed learning takes place within a framework wherein the learners' control of the framework is limited by deferring to others. Perhaps the most immediate illustration of Type III self-directed learning is graduate studies wherein certain structures come with the degree program. These structures include such criteria as entrance requirements, core courses, candidacy hearings, qualifying exams, and research requirements. All of these the learners accept as limiting their control because their learning goal requires the degree outcome. The learners retain full responsibility in their elective course choices and in the research project, which is every graduate student's personal adventure in self-directed learning.

Type IV self-directed learning represents maximum learner choice in both dimensions. Learners have full control in the initiation, the resources, the sequence, and the outcome of their learning. Learners in Type IV are also fully responsible for content, learning methods and time, and formative evaluation. These would be the autodidacts of Candy's (1991) model. The Wright brothers' story serves as a case study of self-directed learners (Cavaliere, 1990) in that they were self-motivated and initiated their own learning projects about principles of flight, design, mechanics, and the experience of others' efforts to fly. They maintained full control and full responsibility throughout their project (Tough, 1979).

There are at least two underlying assumptions in this model. First, self-directedness in any of the four types assumes the use of external resources, including other persons. Learning in isolation from external resources is an unlikely myth at best; and at worst it is an oxymoron. Collins (1991) supported this point by placing learning in the very flow of life itself, thus ridiculing the notion that learning can occur in a vacuum, isolated from the people and things in one's environment. Secondly, the phenomenon of self-direction must assume that the initiative begins with the learners, and that continuation of the learning project is also a matter of the learners initiative.

Conclusion: Before 1987 these participants were self-directed learners fitting the description of Type IV in the Self-directed Learning Spectrum. But the point here, and the point of significance to the theory and literature of self-directed learning, is that the learners' initiative, driven by their own motivation and practical goals, made the method of their learning subordinate to the substance of their learning. In other words, these participants wanted to learn how to be more effective in their ministry. How they learned prior to 1987 were choices made for pragmatic reasons, and which were mainly conditioned by the political and social reality of their context. The setting is secondary; learner initiative is primary. Self-directed learning theorists and researchers must not miss the lesson to neither exalt nor assume one type of self-directed learning as better or preferred over another.

If adult learners are seeking knowledge on their own initiative, the resource persons who serve them must respect the primacy of that initiative. Even though learners may choose to limit their control and responsibility in order to achieve their learning goal, adult educators must resist the temptation to replace the learners' goals with their own or the institution's. This does not mean that criteria and evaluations are negated, or that policies are ignored. It should mean that methods, assumptions, procedures, and policies are originated and applied for the purpose of working with the learners' initiative and furthering the learners' goals. If self-directed learners are internally motivated by practical goals, then adult educators would serve them best by facilitating discovery, providing new information in a collegial way, and participating in developing application strategies.

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DEVELOPING CRITICAL REFLECTIVE THINKING AMONG CHURCH LEADERS IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

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Abstract: The author summarizes the current state of Church leadership development programs in sub-Saharan Africa. His pilgrimage of moving from "banking" to praxis teaching is related. The need for training for teachers in such programs is explored and initial results from a pilot program are given. Positive changes in the Church resulted. A model for the diffusion of this type of teaching is proposed.

Picture If You Will . . . The scene is a class at the Kenya Bible Institute and School of Theology. It is Monday morning and this is Church History-I, the first year students' class. The 35 students, seated in their assigned seats in perfectly aligned rows, await the start of class. At precisely 8:05 the class timekeeper goes to the front of the room and rings a hand bell. At that time the tutor enters, Bwana Ndirangu. The students (ranging in age from 22 to 55) have been holding whispered conversations but are immediately silent and rise to their feet. Bw. Ndirangu steps to the podium telling the students to be seated. He takes out his notes and begins his lecture.

"We will begin where we left off on last week. I was telling you about the Nicene Council of 325 AD and the *homoousious* vs. *homoiousious* controversy which it addressed. Keep these terms straight in your memory. You will need them for the exam on Wednesday. Homoousious means of similar (being neither identical nor different) substance, while homoiousious means of the same substance." Bw. Ndirangu continues his lecture about the "substance" issue concerning the *relationship* of God the Father and God the Son. The students are busy with their heads bowed over their notebooks as they attempt to record, verbatim, the lecture. Bw. Ndirangu continues for two hours. At the end of the lecture he asks for questions. Immediately nearly 35 hands go up. He calls on a student in the front row, "Yes Samuel, what is your question?" Samuel, who has been pastoring for 10 years and is 36 years old, rises to address the tutor. "Sir, can you please tell us what we need to know for Wednesday's exam?" Bw. Ndirangu snaps back, "What a silly question Samuel! Have you not been in class all term? Have you not been taking notes? You will need to know the material I have been lecturing about of course! Does anyone have a *real* question?" Otieno, one of the youngest students at 25 years of age, is called on when he raises his hand. He also stands to speak, "Sir, how are we to apply the knowledge we are learning in this lecture in our churches? How will the knowledge of these two almost identical Greek words, which I can't even pronounce, help my church members grow and mature in their relationship with God, their fellow Christians, and the non-Christians in the village? It seems that this issue has ***something*** to do with *relationship*, does it not?" "Another fatuous question! You don't understand at all!" replies Bw. Ndirangu. "This has nothing to do with the people in your little village! It concerns a great theological debate that raged in the early Church over 1,500 years ago! The Nicene Council decided what was the right answer and we have that knowledge today. I should have expected such a question from one so insolent as you." Bw. Ndirangu collects his notes and leaves the room. All the students stand as he leaves. As Otieno picks up his notebook to leave he says to his classmate "Alisema swali ilikuwa 'fatuous.' fatuous!? Fatuous inamainisha nini?" (He said the question was fatuous, fatuous!? What does 'fatuous' mean?).

My pilgrimage from banking to praxis: I do not presume to know what is best for programs such as the fictitious one above, but I have strong beliefs about what is better. Bw. Ndirangu's class is all too typical of Church leadership development programs in Africa today. Everywhere one meets long lectures lifted from Western theologians and their books. Learners, though not children, are often treated as such. Much of the curriculum is irrelevant and non-contextual. Learners must memorize vast amounts of information to pass exams. Critical reflective thinking is actively *discouraged* as this may interfere with rote memorization of material. Transformative learning is unknown. The expectation of both students and educators is that teachers will tell students what to think. Due to these, and other factors, the Church in sub-Saharan Africa, though large and widespread, is weak. One of the results of this form of ministry formation "...is a trained incapacity to deal with the real problems of actual living persons in their daily lives" (Wink, 1973, p.36). I see a need to move away from the type of leadership development and biblical scholarship, as seen in Bw. Ndirangu's class, that "seems to exist in a rarefied world of its own, unrelated to the need of the general Christian public to understand how the Bible applies to their daily lives... Rarely, if ever, is direct application of the text to the interpreter's life considered to be part of the task of biblical scholarship as such" (Kirk, 1983, p. 34).

For my first 8 years in Kenya I ran a nationwide Theological Education by Extension (TEE) program, taught TEE courses, and conducted seminars for Church leaders. There was plenty of work. I found it challenging but discouraging. It seemed that my teaching had little effect on the lives of Church leaders or their churches. There was no excitement among these leaders for training programs. The Church grew in size, but there was little cognitive, moral, social or spiritual growth. I knew something was wrong, but I did not know what it was.

Searching for answers I enrolled in the Master of Arts program in Intercultural Studies at Wheaton College Graduate School while on furlough in 1988-89. Here, under the mentoring of leading missiologists such as Lois McKinney and James Plueddemann, and community development specialist D. Merril Ewert, I began to see teaching and learning from an entirely new perspective. I began to understand that the type of teaching I had been doing was what Freire calls the "banking concept of education" (1973, p. 58).

> The teacher talks about reality as if it were motionless, static, compartmentalized, and predictable. Or else he expounds on a topic completely alien to the existential experience of the students. His task is to "fill" the student with the contents of his narration -- contents which are detached from reality, disconnected from the totality that engendered them and could give them significance. Words are emptied of their concreteness and become a hollow, alienated, and alienating verbosity (p. 57).

At Wheaton I was exposed to the concepts of *transformational learning*. Reading the works of Mezirow, Brookfield, Freire and others became exciting and a passion for me. Not only did I learn about transformative learning, and *praxis*, but these were the modus operandi of learning.

On returning to Kenya I began teaching in an entirely new way. There was a growing interest in learning in my students. Things began to happen in the Church. There was dialog, questioning, critical reflection and a maturing process previously missing. Soon, though, I noticed a dangerous gap in Church strategy for Africa. Examining programs of ministry formation in Africa, I found a striking, and disturbing, similarity. The majority of teachers, as a rule, lacked training in teaching for critical reflective thought. This condition is still true of both national and missionary faculties. All too often assumptions dictate that because one has received education for ministry formation, one can then also teach the same. This assumption, I believe, is invalid.

Atkinson in an article concerning Christian education and critical reflective thinking proposes that these two can, and should, go together (1989). Christians believe in absolute truth and that it does not change with time. Nonetheless our understanding of that truth and our relationship to it changes, and hopefully matures over time. Atkinson lists implications of this approach for programs of Christian education.

- It means that students should be taught to raise questions and explore implications.
- It means that students should be taught to understand and respect opposing points of view.
- It means that students should understand the value of doubting.
- It means that students and teachers alike must realize that their understanding and application of truth might change.
- It means that students and teachers alike must realize that there are many areas of thought which are not black and white, and demand the critical pursuit of answers and understanding.
- It means that teachers must employ methods of teaching which stimulate reflective and critical thinking in the minds of students.
- It means that teachers must resist the urge to spoon feed their students (p. 27).

Although much has been written concerning the necessity of contextualizing teaching for learners, (Bowen, 1984; Lingenfelter & Mayers, 1986; McKinney, 1984), it is insufficient to contextualize our teaching to fit the expectations and learning styles of students. Contextualizing teaching methods must move hand in hand with excellence in learning. Formulating education that will be both contextual and palatable, while producing critical reflective thinking, may not be easy, but it is a necessity.

Teacher Training Program. After a few years of facilitating learning with this new paradigm I began conducting training workshops for those in teaching ministries. In these seminars we examined issues such as:

- the cognitive styles and learning styles of African adults
- designing, and implementing transformative learning experiences
- a comparison of the banking style of learning and praxis learning
- learning through praxis
- understanding and using experiential learning
- the role of the teacher in programs of Church leadership development

Throughout these seminars transformative learning and critical reflective thinking were not only taught but also modeled. I began seeing transformative learning theory as a key to teaching for critical reflective thinking. I have come to appreciate the process of learning that comes out of Mezirow's transformative learning theory. I find that transformative learning is an excellent tool for use to promote the kind of critical reflective thinking that the Church in Africa today so desperately needs.

Some of the techniques that I have used in training teachers for programs of Church leadership development to teach for critical reflection include:

- *Role playing* -- Learners play roles exhibiting perspectives other than their own. Sufficient time is needed for students to critically reflect on these situations, and for debriefing through dialog. The role playing can either be done in actual skit form or individually in written form. Africans, generally holistic, global thinkers, are particularly apt at learning with this technique.
- *Simulations/Games* -- Often these are less threatening than role playing situations. They are a bit further removed from reality, but nonetheless provide opportunities for learners to experience perspectives other than their own.

- *Journal writing* -- The keeping of a reflective journal is perhaps the most widely used and effective tool to promote critical reflection. Learners record their observations, thoughts, feelings, images, and questions and descriptions of learning activities. Africans often have a more oral orientation to learning than written. Therefore journals could be done orally.
- *Experiential learning exercises* -- The use of concrete real-life learning experiences, often referred to as *action learning* or *praxis*, if combined with sufficient reflection and debriefing, is a powerful tool for promoting transformative learning

These techniques are not new to adult educators. Nonetheless they are almost unheard of in programs of Church leadership development in Africa. Cranton delineates even more techniques that I am eager to try in Africa. Under the generic technique of *Critical Questioning* she lists *content reflection*, *process reflection* and *premise reflection* as three specific modes of stimulating critical reflective thinking (1994, p. 169-172). I believe that the key to promoting such teaching is in modeling it when training teachers. Elliston gives several axioms to consider when designing cross-cultural leadership education. One of these states: "The overall structure of an educational process greatly conditions what is learned--not only in terms of cognition, but in attitudinal development as well. In fact, the educational structures, processes, and teacher-learner relationships frequently condition the long-term learning outcomes more than the content of the course" (1988, p. 211). The way we teach is just as important, if not more important, than what we teach. Elliston also lists the following four statements as one of his axioms:

> One tends to---
> teach as he/she has been taught
> lead as he/she has been led
> relate as he/she has been related to
> develop curricula like those in which he/she learned (p. 206)

If this is true then we must be careful concerning the way people prepare for a teaching ministry.

Picture If You Will--Part 2: What would ministry formation that promotes critical reflective thinking look like? The following scenario is one possible version.

The scene is the last evening of a seminar for Church elders in Central Kenya. Tomorrow they will head for their respective homes. The seminar has been held in the Pentecostal Brotherhood Church in Kutus town. The 15 participants, from various PB churches in Central Province, have been learning all week. The issue they decided to study concerns the decision making role of Church elders. To do this they have done two things. First, each morning they studied and discussed sections of the Bible that are either descriptive or prescriptive of decision-making in Israel or the early Church. Second, they visited secular board meetings as observers. They attended the general council meeting of the Kutus Technical Institute (one of the elders has a cousin on the council), the monthly meeting of the Kirinyaga Women's Cooperative Chicken Project (another elder's wife is the treasurer of the KWCCP), and a public meeting of the District Development Council which is chaired by the District Officer. They have discussed how these meetings operated and the different decision-making strategies employed. The seminar leader, Peter Ndiritu, has facilitated discussion by using questions. Here are a few examples:

- Who had the most power in the meetings? How did they get that power?
- Who talked and who was silent? Why do you think it was that way?
- Which of the meetings seemed more fair? Why?
- Which of the meetings seemed to have the biggest trouble making decisions?
- Which method of problem-solving is most like the one your church uses? Which is the most different?
- Which of the various problem solving techniques in these meetings could be used by the Church, and which ones could not? Why?
- What changes, if any, are needed in the decision-making process in your church? Why? How could these changes be implemented? Are there barriers to their implementation?

Tonight as they sit together drinking *chai* (sweet hot tea with milk) the facilitator, brother Peter, asks them to pretend that they are all elders of one church and they have a problem to face with subsequent decisions to make. He paints a picture for them of a young man, Wachira, and a young lady, Njeri. Wachira, although 20, is still a part of the youth group at church as he has not yet married. He has been a leader among the youth and preached in the church a few times. Many people thought that he would be going to Bible College soon. Njeri is 17 and shy. She has been a very faithful member in the church and the youth group. He explains how these two began seeing each other and eventually Njeri became pregnant. The church disciplined them and they removed themselves from fellowship and were married in a civil ceremony. Some months after the baby was born they came to the pastor privately to ask to be reunited with the church. He tells them that he will bring it to the elders for discussion and then tell them of their decision.

Peter asks the participants to play the part of the elders of the church and that he will play the part of the pastor. A lively discussion ensues which last for many hours, sometimes heated, and often full of laughter. Occasionally Peter has to guide the conversation by asking questions about how the lessons they had learned that week can apply to this situation. Well after midnight the discussion draws to a close. They gravitate to the other end of the church building where their bed rolls are located and begin getting ready to sleep. Bro. Gitau, one of the elders, turns to Peter as they bed down for the night and says "Semina hii imekuwa ya ajabu, bora kuliko kila semina nyigine. Tutaweza kukata mashauri bora makanisani yetu sasa. (This Seminar has been wonderful, better than any other seminar. We will be better able to make decisions in our churches now). Peter replies "Ndio, imekuwa semina nzuri sana. Mimi nimejifunza mambo meingi. (Yes, it has been a good seminar. I have learned many things). Gitau continues with a bit of a puzzled look on his face, "Lakini hukupata nafasi kutufundisha". (But you never got a chance to teach us.) Peter just smiles as he pulls his blanket over him and says, "Labda wakati ujao, ndugu, labda wakati ujao". (Maybe next time brother, maybe next time.)

The Diffusion Of The Innovation. The type of teacher training program outlined above, and the type of teacher it would hopefully produce, depicted in the scenario above, are definitely innovations in the context in which I work. Rogers lists several roles for change agents (1995). These include; developing a need for change, establishing an information-exchange relationship, and diagnosing problems.

African church leaders are usually aware of the need for growth and maturity in their churches. National Church leaders (and most mission personnel as well) though aware of this need often do not see the relationship between weak churches and the way that church leaders are trained.

To establish a causal relationship between methods of training and weak churches I suggest the use of story-telling and drama followed by question posing with groups of teachers and other church leaders. In seminars for church leaders, church conventions, denominational annual general meetings, and faculty meetings, stories like the two scenarios in this paper can be told or acted out. Both story-telling and drama are very important forms of indigenous communication in most African cultures. Following this, small groups should focus on questions such as the following:

- In which of the two scenarios do you think church leaders are being better prepared to minister in their churches? Why?
- In which of the two scenarios would you prefer to be a student? Why? A Teacher?
- Which teaching style portrayed in these two examples is closer to that which Jesus used?
- Which method of teaching will produce stronger churches? Why? Is it possible to use both methods in the same program? How might this be done? Why would you want to do this? Are there some subjects that need to be taught with one method as opposed to the other?
- Which strategy seems closer to the way African people live and solve problems?
- Why did Gitau not recognize that Peter had been teaching? What does good teaching look like? What are the characteristics of a good teacher?

- In our training programs for church leaders do we have more teachers like Bw. Ndirangu or Peter Ndiritu? Why? Are our teachers taught how to teach? If so, how?

Future Research: For my dissertation research I intend to further refine, implement and evaluate a short term, intensive training program as outlined above. Should this approach prove successful in promoting teaching for critical reflective thinking I foresee two possibilities for further diffusion. One would be to offer training for the entire faculties of schools. The other would be to implement further training for teachers beyond an intensive workshop. I have written a core curriculum of five courses for teachers in such programs. I have proposed this as the core for a Master's level degree program in Educational Ministries to be offered by Daystar University, an indigenous Christian university in Kenya. The core courses could either be done on campus or through intensive extension short courses.

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THE USE OF LEARNING STRATEGIES: DO DISTINCTIVE GROUPS OF LEARNERS EXIST?

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Abstract. Learning strategies were examined in a province-wide study involving five colleges throughout Alberta. Several multivariate analyses using discriminant analysis failed to produce any powerful functions although weak differences were found in the areas of grades, gender, program, and age. The multivariate technique of cluster analysis, however, did produce a solution with five clear and distinct clusters of learners.

Introduction

It is clear to educators that individual differences exist in how students approach learning, and a trend is emerging that considers the concept of learning strategies as a means of identifying and accounting for those individual differences in learners. For over a decade, educators have turned to learning styles as a means of exploring individual differences in learners with instruments to measure these differences developed by Kolb, Gregorc, Canfield, and Dunn. However, as Bonham (1989) has pointed out, most of these instruments have inherent weaknesses, and research studies in this areas have consistently failed to find any differences that can be attributed to learning styles. Contemporary studies with learning strategies, however, suggest that distinct groups of learners do exist (Conti & Kolody, 1995; Hays, 1995; Strakal, 1995) with implications that critical use of these learning strategies may serve to enhance student success.

Regardless of the type of setting, learners use various strategies to accomplish their learning needs. Learning strategies are those techniques or specialized skills that the learner has developed to use in both formal and informal learning situations (McKeachie, 1988). They are "the techniques and skills that an individual elects to use in order to accomplish a specific learning task....Such strategies vary by individual and by learning objective" (Fellenz & Conti, 1989, p.7-8). Since the recent development of the Self-Knowledge Inventory of Lifelong Learning Strategies (SKILLS), researchers such as Hays (1995), Hill (1992), McKenna (1991), Moretti (1995), Strakal (1995), Yabui (1992), and Conti and Kolody (1995) have found that various groups of learners can be distinguished by the learning strategies which they use.

The purpose of this study was to expand the investigation of this growing area of study by examining and describing the learning strategies by adult learners at two-year colleges in Alberta. Building upon a learning strategies study initiated at Medicine Hat College (Conti & Kolody, 1995), five Canadian two-year community colleges agreed to cooperatively conduct this study with the technical assistance of the adult education staff from a U.S. university. In addition to Medicine Hat College, these schools included Grande Prairie College, Keyano College, Mt. Royal College, and Red Deer College.

Methodology

This research project consisted of two parts. The first part was causal-comparative in nature to investigate the relationship of learning strategies to a variety of educational and demographic variables. This stage of the research was approached deductively. Groupings which were hypothesized as potentially having an influence upon how people used learning strategies were imposed upon the data. The multivariate technique of discriminant analysis was used to determine if the groups could be discriminated from each other based upon the interactive effects of the various learning strategies.

The second part was descriptive and was approached inductively. Cluster analysis was used to identify the groups which inherently existed in the data (Conti, 1996). To help name and describe these clusters, analysis of variance and discriminant analysis were conducted. Since five distinct groups of learners were identified by this quantitative process, focus groups are currently being conducted to collect supplementary qualitative data to further assist in describing the clusters. These group interviews will elicit responses from the participants that describe their learning patterns and preferences to determine why and how the clusters differ. Two focus groups are being held with each cluster of learners. For these focus groups, one representative set of five groups is being held at Medicine Hat College and another set at Red Deer College. Each focus group will consist of 5-8 learners for a total of 10 focus groups and approximately 50-80 individuals.

Learning strategies were measured with the Self-Knowledge Inventory of Lifelong Learning Strategies (SKILLS). This valid and reliable instrument consists of real-life learning scenarios with responses drawn from the areas of metacognition, metamotivation, memory, critical thinking, and resource management (Conti & Fellenz, 1991). Each of the five areas consists of three specific learning strategies: Metacognition--Planning, Monitoring, and Adjusting; Metamotivation--Attention, Reward/Enjoyment, and Confidence; Memory--Organization, External Aids, and Memory Application; Critical Thinking--Testing Assumptions, Generating Alternatives, and Conditional Acceptance; and Resource Management--Identification of Resources, Critical Use of Resources, and Use of Human Resources. SKILLS has two forms of six scenarios; both forms were used in this study. From these, respondents pick four scenarios that are most meaningful to them.

Data was collected by administering SKILLS to a representative sample of students at each of the five participating colleges in Alberta. At each college a local research assistant from the faculty identified a sample which was representative of that college, and each college was randomly assigned one form of SKILLS. Additionally, demographic and educational information was gathered to further analyze the relationship between these factors and learning strategies. The sample included 1,143 learners who ranged in age from 17 to 71; 70.5% were female, and 29.5% were male.

Findings

The overall profile for the students throughout the province revealed a divergent group of learners; no single learning strategy area or specific learning strategy was predominant. The possible range of scores for the learning strategies areas is 12 to 36. All the group means were near the middle of this range: Metacognition--23.2; Metamotivation--22.9; Memory--24.1; Critical Thinking--23.9; and Resource Management--25.5. Likewise, the individual learning strategies, which have a range of 4 to 12, had little divergence with means that varied from 7.04 to 8.84.

Discriminant analysis was used to analyze the relationship between learning strategies and various demographic and educational variables. Discriminant analysis is a multivariate procedure which is used to discriminate between different groups of people by placing them into groups and investigating if they can be distinguished by a set of discriminating variables (Conti, 1993; Klecka, 1980). Unlike Hill (1992) who found a meaningful discriminant function which distinguished the group of learners at Montana's tribal colleges with the lowest grade point average from the group with the highest grade point average, learning strategies as measured by SKILLS were not useful in discriminating similar groups of learners in the Canadian two-year colleges. Likewise, only weak differences were found when the learners were grouped in the areas of gender, program, and age. Consistently, each of these analyses explained only about 10% of the variance that could be explained beyond mere chance.

However, cluster analysis was more successful in explaining the data. Cluster analysis is a multivariate statistical procedure that seeks to identify homogeneous groups or clusters in the data (Aldenderfer & Blashfield, 1984, Chapter 1). Its strength lies in its ability to examine the person in a holistic manner (Conti, 1996). Cluster analysis produced a solution with five clear and distinct clusters of learners.

Cluster 1 contains the highest number of university transfer students along with the students with the highest grade point average. It is composed of learners who rely heavily on the metacognition strategy of Planning. Thus, these focused learners chart a course for learning and follow it. This group is also higher than other groups in its preference for the Resource Management learning strategy of Identification of Resources; thus, its members know how to locate and use the best information. They also frequently use the Memory strategy of Organization to structure or process information so that the material can be better stored and retrieved.

Cluster 2 is made up of learners who most often use the Metacognition strategy of Monitoring as they review plans, check to see if they are on task, and compare their progress to accepted standards or models. This group contains older students who rely heavily on the Resource Management strategy of Critical Use of Resources to help in the learning process; this process includes using appropriate rather than available resources and contacting experts or other secondary sources. These learners also use the Metamotivation strategy of Attention such as avoiding distractions and setting time aside for learning to stay focused on the material.

Cluster 3 contains those students who make heavy use of the Metacognition strategy of Adjusting their learning process as well as the Memory strategy of Memory Application, which involves using mental images or other memories to facilitate problem solving. This group also relies heavily on all the strategies in the area of Critical Thinking. They Test Assumptions to evaluate the specifics and generalizability within a learning situation; they Generate Alternatives to create additional learning options; and they are open to Conditional Acceptance of learning outcomes while keeping an open mind to other learning possibilities.

Cluster 4 is made up of the passionate learners who love to learn and learn with feeling. This groups relies heavily on the Metamotivation strategies of Reward/Enjoyment to anticipate the value to one's self for learning or having fun with the learning activity and of Confidence to reassure their belief that they can complete the learning task successfully. This group also uses the Memory strategy of using External Aids such as lists to reinforce memory.

Cluster 5 frequently uses the Resource Management strategy of Using Human Resources, which includes dialogues, discussions, and networking to integrate others into the social and political processes of learning. They also make heavy use of the Memory strategy of Memory Application such as using mental images or other memories to facilitate problem solving.

Discriminant analysis was used to identify the process that distinguishes the five clusters of learners from each other and to generate a formula for placing individuals in the groups (Conti, 1996). The discriminant function produced by this analysis was 95.5% accurate in placing the 1,143 learners in their correct clusters; this is a 75.5% increase over their chance placement of 20%. Two of the four discriminant functions produced by the analysis each accounted for over 50% of the variance that existed in the data. The first function accounted for 62.03% of the variance, and the second one accounted for 56.08% of the variance. The process that discriminated the groups from each other in the first function was an internal versus external view of the learning process by the learner. In this function, the Metamotivational strategies of Confidence in learning and Reward/Enjoyment with learning were contrasted with the Resource Management strategy of Identification of the best learning sources. While some learners emphasized their own motivational factors for learning, others gained their security in learning by having the proper learning resources. The second function, which described another process that discriminated the groups from each other, paired Attention by focusing on the learning materials and Planning the best way to learn against the strategies of Memory Application by using techniques such as mental images and Conditional Acceptance of learning outcomes. Thus, this function distinguishes between those with a preoccupation with what needs to be learned and how this is going to be accomplished and those who have mental flexibility with the learning process. While these two functions will be further clarified with data from the focus groups, they tentatively serve as indicators of the process that discriminate the five clusters from each other.

Conclusions

This study adds to the growing literature base on learning strategies and contributes to a deeper understanding of patterns and divergence in adult learners. Previous studies using SKILLS have revealed that learners use various strategies to achieve their learning goals and that the use of learning strategies is widely distributed. When looking at large groups, no single specific learning strategy emerges as dominant. Clearly, distinct groups do exist of learners who have particular preferences for different patters of learning strategies for attacking learning problems.

Yet, the research on learning strategies has been conducted in the United States, and results of these studies have not been generalizable to college students in Alberta. So, as Schon (1987) suggests, reflective practitioners throughout the province embarked upon a cooperative venture with the research resources of a U.S. university to create their own knowledge. By conducting field-based case studies, they have established a locally-generated research base for improving teaching and learning.

Numerous discriminant analyses were conducted to explore hypothesized differences in known groups of learners. Although some differences were found among the learners, strong patterns were not disclosed between the most and least successful groups of learners as in the study by Hill (1992) and were not found in the other variables which were investigated. Indeed, the repeated failure to find differences using discriminant analysis suggests that imposing sense upon the data through preconceived groupings is not the best way to uncover differences in uses of learning strategies by disparate groups of learners. Instead, multivariant techniques such as cluster analysis which allow the data to expose its own patterns are more productive.

The five distinct clusters that emerged in this Alberta study may be a new typology with major implications for teaching, diagnosing, and counselling of adult learners. Perhaps the reason that the various discriminant analyses failed to produce any meaningful results is because the natural groupings for patterns of the use of learning strategies are equally embedded within the various categories that educators either instinctually or stereotypically believe can make a difference in how adults learn. In fact, the findings from this study suggest that a general typology of learners exists which cuts across the demographic variables which researchers typically use to classify learners.

As these Canadian colleges have cooperated to follow Schon's suggestion of being reflective practitioners who can create their own knowledge base, they may have uncovered a general model related to the strategies used by adult learners. Besides jointly conducted training sessions for the college faculties, this ongoing research project has also been expanded to explore the learning strategies of other adult populations throughout North America. The findings from this study have encouraged the faculty and students associated with the Center for Adult Learning Research and the adult education graduate program at Montana State University to expand their research efforts related to learning strategies and to duplicate the overall design of this study with various populations of adult learners. When a broad enough sample can be collected which will be representative of that diverse and elusive target population referred to as the adult learner, a similar cluster analysis will be conducted. Such an analysis will disclose if this five-cluster solution is a general model for adult learners or if it is more contextually specific to Canadian learners in Alberta. In the meantime, this study has demonstrated that as in previous studies, SKILLS appears to be an effective instrument for identifying adult learning strategies and that the concept of learning strategies is a productive tool in the pursuit of a better understanding of adult learning.

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REDISCOVERING HOPE IN A NEW ERA: POSSIBILITIES FOR THE RADICAL TRADITION OF ADULT EDUCATION

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Abstract: In the context of globalization, socialism's crisis of theory and practice on the one hand and the consequences of unbridled capitalism and new-liberal ideologies and practice on the other have brought the radical tradition of adult education back to its roots.

Introduction: Six years ago at AERC, I presented an outline of my reading of the making of the Anglo-American strand of what I now refer to as the radical tradition of adult education(Law, 1989). At the time I was living in Canada and was struck by the general lack of historical perspective in North American adult education, in particular its reluctance to acknowledge its scruffy, radical past. My paper briefly traced a journey from certainty to doubt. As prospects for some sort of socialist transition faded, I argued, radicals continuously revised their sense of possibility. I concluded that in terms of any substantial social transformation, the radical tradition had lost its way: I also offered some speculative suggestions as to its likely prospects.

The intervening years have seen both consolidation and shifts in my thinking. My return in late 1989 to New Zealand, a cauldron of neo-liberal('New Right') sorcery, brought me face to face with the impact on a small, peripheral country of the restructuring in all sphere demanded by the "new world order." For example, one in three of our children now live below the poverty line; a statistic that would have been unthinkable a decade ago. Meanwhile, the publication of a number of books and articles in the human and social sciences and in our own field has provided new insights into the continuing crisis of theory and practice on the political left and has enriched our understanding of Western radicalism and its tradition of adult education. We have more detailed maps of the terrain, even though we are still unsure where we are heading. We can also detect a shift in sentiment a growing anger at the consequences of 'New Right' ideologies and practices.

Against that backdrop, the purpose of this paper is to revisit and extend my earlier analysis. Its scope is necessarily limited. However, it draws on a more comprehensive inquiry into the future prospects of the radical tradition, in particular its Anglo-American strand. That study involved three exploratory investigations: a critical reappraisal of the tradition; a consideration of its present situation in the context of the crisis on the political left; and a selective examination of possible sites of renewal, in particular, new social movements and some sort of restructured labor movement. The rest of the paper is divided into four sets of notes, the last three of which can be considered 'findings.' (1) definitions; (2) an overview of shifting conceptualizations; (3)my earlier analysis revisited; and (4) the new era and the rediscovery of hope.

On definitions: The term 'radical tradition of adult education' is a mental construct, rather than a category. It is a way of telling a story. One of the strengths of the idea of a tradition is that its powerful sense of continuity helps link past, present and future. Another is that its sense of inclusiveness helps soften the capacity of words like 'radical' and 'adult education' to exclude: a factor that has contributed to much of the confusion in the field's literature around the meanings we affix to the term 'radical adult education' (see Shied, 1993; Thomas, 1982). Thus, following Brain Simon (1972), I present "as a unity, consistent within itself" (p 10), an educational tradition of ideas and practices that is identified with the long struggle for social justice and the vigorous assertion of the need for identified with the long struggle for social justice and the vigorous assertion of the need for fundamental social change that we associate primarily with the political left and linked social movements (e.g. Benn, 1984; Hampton, 1984; Lens, 1966). This tradition is 'educational' both in the ordinary sense of 'education' as intentional, organized, systematic provision and in the less formal, Helvetian sense of 'education' as the process of human formation in society (Simon, 1977).

Shifting conceptualizations: A theoretical overview: Up until the late 1970s, the accepted way of exploring radical possibilities in adult education was in the context of 'old' or 'new' left politics. But with the ascent of new-liberal ideologies and practices and the corresponding collapse of the political left, socialist and radical-social democratic visions began to slip into nostalgia. This crisis challenged not only socialism's longstanding claim "to be the *determinate* alternative" to capitalism, but also its claim that as an idealogy it "subsumes other oppositional social movements and can accommodate their demands within its program" (Aronowitz, 1986-87, p. 1). As the mood of left melancholy' (Jay, 1988, p.2) deepened during the 1980s, it became fashionable to turn to other theoretical currents, such as critical social theory, feminism, and post-modernism, in order to reconceptualize radical approaches to adult education in ways that seemed to accord better with end-of-the-century political realities.

Weaving the complicated notion of civil society (Cohen & Arato, 1992) into the debate, a number of writers pointed to the local and/or the particular as sites of 'radical-democratic' education (e.g. Finger, 1989; Kastner, 1993; Welton, 1993). The local emphasizes local issues and struggles as focal points, local communities as setting, and local individuals (e.g. educators) and small collectives (e.g. community members) as agents. The particular focuses on the causes and issues, often tied to specific identity groups, that are carried by 'new social movements' and on education within those movements. A British writer has taken this line of argument some considerable distance. In very thoughtful articles that appear not to have registered yet in North America, Sallie Westwood (1991; 1993) builds on the 'post-Fordist'/New Times' thesis and the notion of the 'politics of difference' in order to sketch a postmodern radical agenda for adult education that attempts to integrate "the past with the present' by refocussing attention on the central role radical adult education can play at the "the interface of economics, politics, and cultures' (1991, p. 53). Paulo Freire (1994) too is moving in a similar direction with his explanation and defence of what he calls a "progressive postmodernity" and his rejection of a "conservative, neoliberal postmodernity" (p.10)

There has, of course, been resistance to this postmodern impulse to fracture the radical agenda. In some representative observations, Myles Horton (1990) argues that 'saving the whales,' ' desegregating the South,' 'organizing a labor union' have to be distinguished from the social goal of 'freedom and self-governance:' "You might save the whales, but the dream must push beyond that" (pp. 227-228). Other examples include Bruce Spencer (1995) challenging Michael Welton's (1993) ready acceptance of the view that working people and labor unions are now on the periphery of radical politics and Fred Schied's (1995) stubborn refusal to let sanitized selections of aspects of the field's past masquerade as comprehensive histories. We can also see a sharpening of language: an endorsement of the view that these may be 'new times' but 'old enemies' remain (Clarke, 1991). Jane Thompson (1995) and Michael Newman (1994) do not mince their words. "We need to use a language that names the enemy. Too much of our language is too nice." Thompson (1995) told a New Zealand audience, "Instead we need to use a language that reclaims education. Old fashioned words like power, oppression, democratic etc--words that encompass an alternative vision and an alternative set of priorities."

A common theme running through a diversity of new theoretical works is that we are living in a period of transition and that the future has to be contested. From a radical perspective, that requires the development of theoretical understandings and practical approaches that take account of not only the increasing pace and intensification of globalization in all spheres, but also the very complicated ways in which New Right ideologies and practice are embedded deeply in that complex process. Some prominent social theorists, such as Anthony Giddens (1994), argue that socialist project has "dissolved" and suggest the adoption of a framework that moves 'beyond left and right.' Others, such as Peter Beilharz (1993), argue that it is too early to write socialism's epitaph: "The collapse of the Bolshevik experiment takes socialism back to its roots, and back to its earlier hopes" (p. 129).

This sort of division is now very evident in adult education. Writers like Matthias Finger and Welton are quite unequivocal: "The socialist project has vanished. The utopic potential believed to reside in 'labour' has disappeared" (M. R. Welton, personal e-mail communication, April 13, 1996). Others, such as Freire and Westwood, tilt in this direction, but are not quite so definite. Then there are those, like Newman, Schied, Spencer, and Thompson, who appear to retain a strong commitment to reworking the radical tradition's socialist legacy in order to explore future possibilities. My affinity is with this group.

Revisiting the earlier analysis; Some theoretical and historical notes: An internal critique of the radical tradition has many tasks. These notes touch on just two: (1) presenting that a tradition as a unity; and (2) highlighting some impulses and frustrations.

The tradition as a unity: Two authors who had a close association with adult education, Raymond Williams and Edward Thompson, continue to provide a helpful framework. Williams (1961) writes of 'a long revolution,' that dates from the late 1700s. It comprises, he suggests, three revolutions occurring simultaneously--the industrial, the democratic, and the cultural. This analysis helps connect adult education with economic and political struggles. In a substantial, but sympathetic critique of 'the long revolution, Thompson (1961) takes issue with Williams's depersonalized, passive construction of social forces and with the absence of what Newman (1994) calls his 'enemies.' Thompson holds that this was and remains) an active process. He writes of an "*alternative* reading public and *alternative* press" with educative materials "circulated by illegal, voluntary means in the face of many hazards" (p. 59). The point is underscored, of course, is his Making of the English Working Class(1993). This volume offer two other important insights into the Anglo-American radical tradition: (1) the enduring persuasiveness of Thomas Paine's radical vision(a point I revisit later); and (2) the dynamics, the informality, and the systematic character of early radicals' inherently educational practice. Elsewhere, Thompson's (1978, pp. 281-282) suggestion of three possible "kinds of socialist transition," anchored in particular historical and social conditions--(1)syndicalist revolution; (2)cumulative reforms through constitutional means; (3) far-reaching sociological changes in class institutions and values--provides a useful model for theorizing the general trajectory of Western radicalism and periodizing its different national strands.

Williams fleshed out his 'long revolution' thesis over the next three decades. Here, I can only indicate some of the insights that I would now weave into an overarching framework: first, the historic perspective he offers on the dynamic interrelationship of "dominant, residual, and emergent" values and meanings (1977); second, his recognition and analysis, in the wake of Eric Hobsbawm's (1978) seminal The forward march of labour halted, of "major defeat" the political left suffered at the hands of new-liberalism (1985/1989, p. 308), and fourth, the very powerful metaphor--journey of hope--that he employed in the extension of his analysis in The year 2000 (1983).

Impulses and frustrations: In one of the most influential (educational) documents of the American Revolution, Common Sense, Thomas Paine (1776/1987) links premodern and modern radicalism with his reworking of very old English radical-democratic arguments derived from the theological precept of equality in the sight of God and the image of the 'Norman Yoke.' He also breaks new ground. Paine's fervent espousal of universal rights, which he had advanced a year earlier in an essay condemning slavery, is part of this. But I think even more significant is his claim the "The cause of America is in a great measure the cause of all mankind" (p. 65). That theme is vigorously presented again 15 years later in The rights of man (1791/1987). But this time it is what Thompson (1963/1968) calls the "crucial 'social' chapter" (p.115) that is the ground-breaker. Here Paine presents, *as a "means of improving the condition of Europe"* an extraordinarily imaginative vision of what we would now call a welfare state, complemented by a plan for disarmament.

Over the course of the nineteenth century, as the emerging working class began to assert itself industrially and politically, socialism, especially Marxism transformed and deepened the radical agenda. But not as comprehensively, perhaps, as many interpreters have claimed. Although the concept of class conflict was a cornerstone of Marx and Engels"s theory of social change and of subsequent versions of "Manifesto' politics (Law, 1992), the language of class struggle does not lead as automatically as some us believed to revolutionary politics. The class compromises of the twentieth century--the welfare states--are, when we think about it, as much a logical outcome of class conflict as insurrection. I would now give even greater weight than I did previously to: (1) E. P. Thompson's (1978, p. 281) view that as the working class pushed for influence in the bourgeois-democratic state, it became 'imbricated' in capitalist relations; and (2) Adam Przeworski's (1986) analysis of the 'electoral dilemma' that faced socialist parties as workers secured the franchise--either they participated in electoral politics or bequeathed their working class constituency to some other party. Radical interpretations often forget that labour had three *alternative* utopias: Bolshevism, Fabianism, and Social Democracy (Beilharz, 1993).

Paul Armstrong's (1988) thoughtful examination of 'socialism and the education of adults' in Britain 1850-1930 has to be read in con junction with the above. He argues and "historical relationship between the erosion of working-class consciousness and the development of forma education" (p.35). After concluding that working class adult education failed to develop a socialist class consciousness, Armstrong suggest an answer may be more radical curricula and pedagogy. He may, however, focus too exclusively on formal working class adult education and expect too much from it. I would contend that it was the totality of the educative forces not just the institutional and organized forms, that shaped working people's consciousness.

Finally, it is worth noting that in the 1960s and 1970s, radical adult education was identified with attempts to test the boundaries f the welfare state compromise: the 150 hours movement in Italy; the demands in France in 1968 for *autogestion* (self-management); 'co-determination' of enterprises in Germany; and the period of "marked radicalization of labour reformism" (Pontusson 1987, p. 11) that occurred in Sweden between 1967 and 1976. There, the Social Democratic government introduced "a number of institutional reforms designed to extend public control over economic crises of the 1970s shattered the social democratic ideological consensus.

In a new era, where do we discover hope? Here I want to make some observations about some implications for the radical tradition of the changing world of work.

By the early 1970s the welfare capitalism was being critiqued from left and right. Left critiques focussed on the inability of social democracy to deliver on its promise to reform society in the interest of working people: education, for example. Right critiques included, but were by no means limited to, concerns about welfare capitalism's inability to secure conditions of capital accumulation. Western governments concluded that enterprises had to become more profitable and the public sector had to become more productive. Meanwhile, workplace relations and work organization, Much of his centered on new production concepts and qualitative shift from 'Fordism' to 'flexible specialization.' These, it was claimed, imply a move from a confrontational to a co-operative, participatory industrial relations regime. As the flexible specialization view gained wider recognition, so too did the accompanying argument that a regular upgrading of skills would become the principal trend. By the mid-1980s we were hearing quite a lot about 'skill shortages.'

Two related strands of New Right thinking influenced the direction of labour market debates. First, a philosophical emphasis on 'individual freedom' that advocates an individually based, contractual employment relations system located in the common law rather than discrete or specialist legislation. Second, an economic argument that holds that free markets and minimal government involvement provide the key to future prosperity.

Governments, urged on by powerful agencies such as the OECD, accepted this view and moved to deregulate the labour market in order to reduce rigidities, including pay rigidities, and to encourage greater overall flexibility. Employers pushed, within the boundaries of national tolerances, for job flexibility, multi-skilling, and increasing their ability to hire and fire.

All of this has eroded the traditional bases of workers' education. Firs. there has been a steady deunionization of the workforce in most industrial countries. In some, such as New Zealand, that has been hastened by far-reaching legislation. Second, there has been a withdrawal of state support for established working class educational agencies, such as WEAs. In New Zealand the statutory Trade Union Education authority was abolished; a similar fate is soon to befall its Australian equivalent. Third, there has been a dramatic shift in emphasis with respect to the purpose of education, at all levels with the privileging of capital's interests (labour market training) at the expense of the democratic imperative. Finally, at the ideological level, a whole we are being encouraged to think of education solely as a 'private good;' something that makes us a more saleable commodity on the labour market.

It seems to me that two things have happened in the wake of the apparent collapse of socialist alternatives to capitalism. Firs, capital has reneged on its social contract with the majority of our countries' populations; it is dismantling not just welfare systems but also the democratic institutions our forebears struggled to establish. Second, the global economic-political impulse is reducing, once again, almost all human relationships to market relationships. Of these, it is the labour market that predominates. Of course, the impact of this falls unevenly. And that is compounded by the current drive against affirmative action that is occurring in many countries.

Unbridled capitalism--rapacious in its appetite, irresponsible and short term in its attitude to our planet. inhuman in its exploitation of people--is bringing the radical tradition of adult education back to its root; solidarity, collectivity, and a faith in human capacity. Once again, there is a unifying, educative task; the shaping and articulation of a practical alternative.

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FACULTY AWARENESS AND USE OF ADULT LEARNING PRINCIPLES

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Abstract: This research explored the awareness and use of adult learning strategies by faculty in a mid-size comprehensive university. Through initial and follow-up surveys and interviews, participants in a faculty development initiative reported an awareness of, but little use of these strategies prior to attending the workshops. Results suggest that faculty development programs should be focused on implementation issues. Researchers found a rich pool of data to be used in planning subsequent workshops.

This paper presents a research study conducted from September, 1994 through January, 1995. The purpose was to identify faculty awareness of adult learning principles and methods and their use in college classrooms. Prompted by the initiation of a faculty development agenda by university administration, the study sought to answer questions regarding goals and objectives of this agenda in relation to the reality of classroom instruction. As the university sought to address the demographic changes in its student population and their implications for classroom learning and retention, it provided workshops on teaching strategies, many of which came from the knowledge base of adult education and learning.

The discipline of adult education and adult learning provides a substantial body of knowledge and research on the principles of adult learning (Brookfield, 1986; Houle, 1992; Knowles, 1980; Merriam, & Cunningham, 1989; Peters & Jarvis, 1991). This information and its use can be helpful in meeting the challenges of today's classroom (Apps, 1991: Halpern & Associates, 1994; Lawler, 1991). The adult learning literature provides a plethora of strategies and methods which foster active participation, collaboration and reflective thinking. Is this wealth of information known to faculty in traditional educational settings? Is it utilized in their classrooms?

The Research -- The Surveys

This study sought to answer these questions and investigate the underlying assumptions regarding the use of adult learning principles and methods by faculty in a mid-sized comprehensive university. The researchers were the Dean of University College who was also responsible for the faculty development initiative, the Dean of the School of Human Service Professions whose faculty worked primarily with adult students in a variety of graduate programs, and a professor with a background in adult education and learning. All had an interest in adult learning and faculty development. For this study, they utilized qualitative and action research methods (Schensul & Schensul, 1992) to seek not only information, but solutions to problems found in implementing successful faculty development programs.

During the 1994-95 academic year, the university initiated a series of faculty development workshops on teaching effectiveness for its 250 faculty members. In the Fall 1994 workshops, topics addressed cooperative and active learning and the use of role plays and simulated games in the classroom. In Spring 1995, workshops included cooperative learning, more effective lecturing, strategies for freshmen and multimedia technology. Faculty attending the workshops were asked to volunteer to complete a survey prior to the presentations. On the survey, the respondents indicated their familiarity with and their use of a variety of instructional techniques, along with their acceptance of adult learning principles. During the Fall workshops, 41 faculty replied and while at the Spring workshops, 18 additional faculty members responded, approximately half of those attending the sessions at which the surveys were distributed. It was evident from the initial surveys that the overwhelming majority of faculty reported awareness of a variety of instructional methods, such as, small group discussions, cooperative learning activities, role plays, debates, and out of class group work. However, over half of the faculty also reported little or no use of these techniques in their classrooms. When asked about their level of agreement with statements illustrating principles of adult learning the faculty for the most part agreed with five of the six concepts:

> The physical and social climate of the classroom can impact how learning takes place.
>
> The student's past and present experience is an asset in the classroom.
>
> Student initiated learning can be as effective as learning initiated by a teacher in a classroom.
>
> Students can benefit from more that one model of classroom presentation.
>
> Students are not too inexperienced to provide input into learning objectives and class progress.

The level of acceptance for the following statement was somewhat lower than for those above:

> Group work in the classroom is a suitable substitute for lecture.

A six month follow-up survey was conducted with the respondents to assess their reasons for attending the workshops, their perceptions of the usefulness of the concepts presented and the degree to which they had incorporated the concepts presented into their teaching. Approximately half of the original respondents returned the follow-up survey. They reported that an interest in new classroom strategies was the main reason for attending a workshop. Sixty-two percent of the faculty who responded after attending the workshop on active and cooperative learning reported that they had implemented some of the concepts presented in their classrooms since the workshop. Eight-nine percent who attended the workshop on role plays utilized some concepts, and 89% of the respondents who attended one of the spring workshops reported utilizing the concepts presented. However, only 29% of the respondents incorporated concepts from the workshop on simulated games. Those who did not implement any new strategies indicated that the techniques were not useful or were difficult to implement in the courses being taught and that the presentations did not include enough examples of practical applications. Whether or not they had implemented the concepts, the faculty reported a continued interest in learning more about new strategies, such as, multimedia in the classroom, facilitating group discussions and the use of case studies. When asked what their preferred means of learning about new classroom techniques were, the most frequently endorsed responses were "discussing the concepts informally" and "attending workshops on campus." In response to the open-ended question, "What is your biggest challenge in the classroom today?", the most frequently cited issues were motivating students to do their coursework and dealing with the wide range of academic abilities of the students in the classroom.

The Research -- The Interviews

To gain more insight and expand the research, in-depth personal interviews were then conducted with six faculty who had responded to the follow-up surveys and volunteered for the interview. All six faculty had included teaching activities in their classroom as a result of the faculty development seminars. For most, the seminars served to reinforce attitudes or behaviors that they had already held or exhibited. These faculty appeared to value a "how to" approach for learning new techniques. Although all mentioned the need for theory, they felt that in order to implement something new in the classroom there was great value in experiencing it ahead of time. One specifically mentioned the value of a "live demonstration" which would include the possible problems that might happen in the classroom as well as the benefits of the technique. Most of the faculty mentioned that they felt they had support for the improvement of teaching from their colleagues, their department head and/or their dean. Many mentioned informal discussion with peers concerning developing new approaches in the classroom. Three mentioned the use of mentors as an aid in making changes in their teaching style. When describing the mentoring relationship, faculty spoke of both technical and emotional support.

Time was mentioned twice as a reason for not implementing change in the classroom. The description of time, however, involved the time needed to learn how to integrate the new technique as well as the time needed to follow-up on the results of the activity.

All faculty agreed that while theory was important, they would like to see faculty development programs that focused on implementation. Several mentioned that there was a great deal of expertise on campus that could be shared. Recommendations for future workshops included: understanding the adult learner, multi-media in the classroom, contract learning, and using student assistants.

Discussion and Recommendations

The results suggest that faculty development programs designed to improve teaching through the use of principles and concepts of adult education and learning may need to focus more on implementation issues than on familiarizing attendees with the principles and concepts. Of particular interest are the reasons cited by faculty for not using strategies and techniques associated with these principles. The perception that the techniques are not useful or are too difficult to implement needs to be addressed. In designing faculty development initiatives, explanation and demonstration may not be enough. Experiential learning strategies, where modeling and practice, along with opportunities to work with the methods within one's own courses, appear necessary. Faculty in this research emphasized their preference for informal discussions groups, on campus experiential workshops, and mentoring relationships. While attention should be given to faculty's preferred means of learning, it is also apparent that techniques that require application of adult learning strategies, such as active participation, warrant consideration. Gordon and Levinson (1990) found that faculty development was most effective when the faculty learned by the same methods about which they were actually learning. They documented that not only did faculty implement the practices modeled in the course, but that their attitudes regarding teaching and learning had also changed. As is so often the case in professional development venues, such as conferences, meetings and workshops, faculty, even those schooled in adult learning principles, revert to traditional instructional methods. While formal presentations and lecture have their place, they may not be the most effective way to demonstrate adult learning principles and concepts for use and acceptance.

Faculty concern for student motivation and diverse abilities in their classroom, cited as their biggest challenge, appears to be the underlying reason many attended the workshops. However, little connection was made by the faculty between presented strategies and their biggest challenge. A central assumption about adult learning it that a person's readiness to learn is greater when one sees an immediate need to learn and to apply the learning to solve life problems (Knowles, 1980). Faculty development initiatives should take advantage of this "readiness" to learn by making clear the connection between the issues of concern to faculty and the content of the workshops. In designing the professional development events for faculty, theory and concepts need to be illustrated in practical formats for immediate applications to the problems at hand.

It is also important to assess the degree to which faculty reward structures, that is, promotion and retention guidelines, may actually discourage experimentation with new instructional approaches. Much of the literature today (Apps, 1991; Hiemstra, 1991; Meyers & Jones, 1993) focus on the faculty member's responsibility to learn, implement and be successful in incorporating such methods in their teaching. There is little that focuses on the institutional culture and organizational context, and whether it is supportive of such changes. Designers of faculty development and the administrators who provide these opportunities need to go beyond the demonstration of new learning methods and classroom techniques. Linking the administration's goals with the faculty's goals for change and development is crucial. It is recommended that administration articulate its support for implementation and provide reward opportunities for those faculty who initiate the strategies demonstrated.

This study provided a rich pool of data to be used in the planning of subsequent faculty development workshops and seminars. The research also reinforced the need, value and feasibility of conducting on-going research and evaluation of seminars and workshops for program improvement. Too often the "busy administrator" overlooks the link between evaluation and program planning, or uses paper and pencil evaluations, which though adequate, fall far short of providing the rich and extensive information gleaned from this study. The partnership between researchers and the practitioner provided currency to the study and value for both research and practice. This "action research" involved several stakeholders in identifying and solving the problem (Schensul & Schensul, 1992).

Teaching and learning seminars and workshops planned for the Spring 1996 semester will focus on classroom implementation of teaching techniques. Subjects will be chosen that will assist faculty in motivating student learning and addressing the needs of a class with varied academic experience and talent. Research and evaluation of these seminars will continue.

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A Descriptive Case Study of the Impact of Social Learning Experiences on Adult Female Inmates

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Abstract. Over the past 20 years the number of women inmates has increased from just over 5,000 in the early 1970s to over 84,000 in 1992. By late 1993 women accounted for 5.8% of all prisoners nationwide. Approximately 60% of these women have not finished high school or received GED equivalents. Regardless of education, there may be a link between the number of incarcerated women and their learning experiences. The experiences may have an impact on their incarceration.

The purpose of this study was to investigate learning patterns of adult female inmates at a small correction center in Montana. The study involved interviewing 31 women concerning their formal, informal, and social learning experiences. There was an initial interview and a follow-up interview.

The study utilized a qualitative case study method and participant observation. The interviews were non-structured and the observations were made in a natural setting to obtain holistic, lifelike descriptions. Of the 31 women interviewed, 28 claimed abuse, often pervasive. The ages ranged from 20 to 72, and they were divided into 6 educational groupings ranging from no high school or GED to those with college degrees.

The study incorporates information about learning and the effects of negative learning on inmates. Numerous differences were found among the learners; however, the common denominator affecting learning among the women studied was abuse.

Learning was categorized into positive and negative learning within four environments: (a) the home; (b) school; (c) self-learning; and (d) learning from peers and other environments. Learning revolved around positive or negative caregivers, escape into positive or negative pursuits, school or other alternative environments, caring or non-caring teachers, recognition of individual learning styles or classroom problems such as learning disabilities or boredom, peer pressure, self-realization and learning from past mistakes or isolationism and continuing on a road to self-destruction.

The conclusions led to the major recommendation that a holistic, critical problem-solving approach be utilized in modifying the corrections system. This plan would replace negative learning and supplant it with positive attitudes and learning. This plan should also be adapted to and utilized in non-corrections environments as a means of preventing or inhibiting negative learning.

Over the past 20 years, the population of women inmates in the United States has increased dramatically. These figures have grown from just over 5,000 women in the early 1970's to over 84,000 women in jail and prison in 1992. At the end of 1993, women accounted for 5.8% of all prisoners nationwide for a total of 38 per 100,000 females in the restricted population. (Bureau of Justice Statistics Bulletins, 1992, 1993, and 1994.) Approximately 60% of these women have not finished high school, and many do not have a GED equivalent. The median grade completed by these women is the eleventh grade. (Bureau of Justice Sourcebook of Criminal Justice Statistics, 1992, p.595). Many have been abused not only sexually but also physically and emotionally, regardless of their educational or social background. Most return to society rarely having any better capabilities to adjust than they did when they were arrested. This often leads to subsequent disaffection and return to crime. Regardless of the type of education or social condition, a relationship may exist between the number of incarcerated women and learning experiences while growing up, in adolescence, or in early adulthood. These experiences may have an impact on the incarceration of women.

Learning experiences in prison can have a positive effect on reentering society as productive citizens. Many times, learning experiences have been negative before incarceration and may be negative after confinement. If these negative learning experiences can be changed from negative to positive, the chance of reentry into society may be more effective.

The purpose of this study was to investigate through qualitative methods the learning patterns of adult female inmates and to determine how learning experiences had impacted subsequent behavior and incarceration. The study involved interviewing 31 women at a small adult female correction center in Montana regarding their formal, informal, and social learning experiences. There was an initial interview and a followup interview to determine what these learning experiences were and if there had been any noticeable changes in their attitudes and/or behavior. The interviews were unstructured, and observations were made in the correction environment to obtain holistic, lifelike, personal perceptions of individual scenarios. In addition, an exploration was made as to how negative learning experiences affected negative behavior and what impact these experiences had on incarceration.

Of the 31 women interviewed, 28 claimed abuse, many times pervasive in nature. All suffered loss of self-esteem, and all related negative learning experiences. There were seven Native American women interviewed, the rest were Caucasian. Approximately one-third of the women had been incarcerated because of assaultive behavior and/or homicide related violations; the rest were confined because of property crimes including bad checks and/or forgery. The ages of the women ranged from 20 to 72, and they were generally housed in the fame facility, with the exception of those who were in pre-release situations. The women were broken down into six educational groupings form no high school or GED equivalent to those with college degrees. The women who claimed no abuse were placed in a group by themselves, and their educational backgrounds were in the same range of education as the other five groups.

The conclusions were based upon abuse and learning. Abuse was broken down into psychological and physical/sexual abuse. The conclusions related to issues concerning psychological abuse which were (a) double standard treatment, (b) deep-seated psychological problems of parents, (c) observation of abuse, (d) subservient female role, (d) emotional abandonment by parent, (f) road to self-destruction, (g) fulfilling negative expectations, (h) escaping psychological abuse, (i) reflection on actions only after too late, and (j) blaming others.

The conclusions relating to physical and sexual abuse involved to the following issues: (a) getting even or controlling others, (b) road to self-destruction, (c) escaping physical and/or sexual abuse, (d) loss of self-esteem from physical or sexual abuse, (e(deed-seated psychological problems of parents resulted in physical or sexual abuse, (f) sexual abuse by other family members or role models, (g) physical abandonment or neglect, (h) strict religious convictions and physical/sexual abuse, (i) abuse by other role models or authority figures, (j) spousal abuse, (k) incidental sexual abuse such as rape or gang rape, (l) substance abuse was equated to self-inflicted physical abuse, (m) generational abuse, making excuses or protecting abusive parents.

Learning was categorized into positive and negative learning within four separate environments: (a) the home, (b) the school, (c) self-learning, and (d) learning from peers in other environments. Positive learning in the four environments related to the following issues: (a) positive caregivers and escape; (b) school as an alternate environment, caring teachers, and recognition of individual learning styles; (c) self-realization and learning from past mistakes, learning to like themselves, establishing positive attitudes and behaviors, and learning self-affirmation; and (d) learning from peer group relationships. Negative learning in the specified environments related to the following issues: (a) lack of loving caregivers, loving caregivers/misguided role models, escape, and manipulating other people and the environment; (b) using school as a safe harbor from abuse, negative experiences with teachers, boredom in the classroom, learning disabilities and/or underdeveloped academic skills, and peer pressure and mistreatment; (c) isolation, on the brink of self-destruction, denying responsibility from their actions, survival, and lacking interest or goals; and (d) the streets and the women's corrections center. Strong relationships were observed between parenting disaffections, abusive relationships at home and school, loss of self-esteem associated with abuse and use of drugs and alcohol resulting in involvement in deviant behavior. Findings suggest that addressing problems at an early age would make adults more productive citizens.

The conclusions led to the major recommendation that a holistic, critical problem-solving approach be utilized in modifying the corrections system. This plan would replace negative learning and supplant it with positive attitudes and learning. This plan should also be adapted to and utilized in non-correction environments as a means of preventing or inhibiting negative learning. This plan encompasses holistic resource management from a sociological perspective.

This study adds to the relatively sparse literature on women prisoners. It also incorporates information about learning and the effects negative learning may have not only on female inmates but also on persons who are not incarcerated. Numerous differences were found among the learners, however the common denominator that affected learning among those women studied was abuse.

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LEARNING THAT COMES FROM THE NEGATIVE INTERPRETATION OF LIFE EXPERIENCES

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Abstract: The prevailing assumption underlying much of the adult learning literature is that growth-oriented changes are the result of adult learning. The purpose of this qualitative study was to understand the process involved when the learning from the negative interpretation of a life experience results in growth-inhibiting, rather than growth-oriented outcomes. Data analyzed from 18 participants revealed that if a life experience challenges some central defining aspect of the self, and the challenge is perceived as too threatening to the self, growth-inhibiting responses, including blame, hostility, withdrawal, and distrust are learned in order to protect self. However, when and if the threat to the self is reduced, the process may reverse itself toward more growth-oriented outcomes.

Introduction: Life experience is the stimulus for much of the learning that takes place in adulthood. Learning, in fact, can be viewed as the process of making sense out of our life experiences. An underlying assumption about such learning is that growth-oriented change is the result of this learning. From Knowles to Mezirow, this growth and development orientation permeates the adult learning and development literature.

But what of the adult learning experience that does not result in growth? What of learning that thwarts rather than enhances development, that is destructive rather than constructive, that leads to a constricted rather than an expanded worldview? While there are a number of models in the adult learning and development literature that delineate the link between learning and growth-oriented development, there is scant reference to learning and negative outcomes. The focus of this study was to understand how learning from a negatively interpreted life experience can result in growth-inhibiting rather than growth-enhancing outcomes.

Review of the Literature: The adult learning and education literature is overwhelmingly skewed toward the view that most learning leads to positive-growth outcomes. There is virtually no discussion about learning resulting in growth-inhibiting outcomes. Writers focus their discussion on factors that facilitate and/or impede learning as well as the process involved in growth-oriented learning.

The growth and development orientation to the adult learning literature can be traced to humanistic psychology and the human potential movement of the 1950s. Abraham Maslow writes that "there is a basic human impulse to grow toward health, full humanness, self-actualization, or perfection" (1991, p. 117). Carl Rogers, echoing Maslow's opinion, contends that the outcome of "significant learning" is a more mature self who is open to experience, to "new people, new situations, new problems" (1961, p. 115). Both Maslow and Rogers emphasize the internal motivation to learn and to develop, with the goal being a more mature, self-actualized individual.

Knowles' (1980) theory of andragogy is written quite explicitly from a humanistic perspective, defining adult learning as "a process that is used by adults for their self-development" (1980, p. 25). Thus, Knowles asserts it is the primary "mission" of adult education "to help individuals satisfy their needs and achieve their goals" (p. 27), two of which are the "development of full potentialities" and "to mature"(p. 28).

The emphasis on positive growth as an outcome of learning is particularly pronounced with those who come from an adult development perspective. Daloz (1986), for example, writes, "Development is more than simply change. The word implies direction... It is good, I believe, to 'develop'" (p. 22). Mezirow's theory of perspective transformation also links adult learning with development. Mezirow postulates that what is meant by development in adulthood is the transformation of one's meaning perspective. Meaning perspectives are the cognitive structures within which new experience "is assimilated and transformed"(1990, p.2). Perspective transformations "permit a more inclusive, discriminating, permeable, and integrative perspective" (p. 14). Transformational learning results in "an empowered sense of self" (p.161), and an individual who is more open-minded, differentiated, and tolerant.

With regard to the process involved in growth-enhancing learning, several writers suggest that being able to retreat to a safe place, combined with support and courage to move forward are necessary for growth to take place. Further, learning can be aborted at various points in the process if the situation becomes too threatening or demanding. What we don't yet have is an understanding of how learning can result in a perspective more restrictive and less developed than before.

Learning From Experience: An important component of the theoretical framework of this study is an understanding of the relationship between learning and life experience. Our perspective draws upon the work of Boud, Cohen and Walker (1993) who state that "experience is the foundation of, and the stimulus for, learning" (p. 8). By "experience" we mean something as straightforward as a specific life event such as marriage or as messy as a process such as parenting.

Life experiences, whether planned or unplanned, whether designed to bring about learning or not, provide the opportunity to learn. Learning occurs only when the experience is attended to and engaged in some way. Thus, even an experience designed to bring about learning may not result in learning. Learning comes about as a process of making meaning out of the experience. In other words, "effective learning does not follow from a positive experience but from effective reflection" (1993, p.162). We attempt to make sense of the experience by adjusting, expanding, perhaps transforming our meaning-making system (Daloz, 1986; Kegan, 1982, 1994; Mezirow, 1991).

Learning then, is making sense out of our life experiences. But the way we interpret our experiences does not always result in our becoming more mature, complex, differentiated persons. Sometimes, instead, we become more hostile, prejudiced, fearful, or constricted in our views. We contend that it is the nature and quality of the engagement with a life experience and its interpretation, not the life experience itself, that results in significant learning being growth-enhancing or growth-inhibiting. This explains how different people can learn different things from the same event, and how difficult and even painful experiences can have positive outcomes. The purpose of this study was to understand the process involved when the interpretation of a life experience results in growth-inhibiting outcomes.

Methodology: A qualitative research design was deemed the most suitable for this study because it allowed us to enter the participants' frames of reference, uncover their interpretations of the learning process, and understand the meaning of their experience.

A nonrandom, purposeful sampling was used to select participants for this study. Eighteen adults who themselves identified a growth-inhibiting outcome from life experience learning were interviewed in depth. The participants ranged in aged from 22 to 64. There were 7 men and 11 women, 2 Asians and 3 African Americans in the sample. Five of the participants reported on a formal educational experience, four referred to the break up of a relation, three spoke of work-related experiences, two of death of spouse, two were crime victims, and one each referred to the experience of Vietnam and being adopted. The constant comparative method of data analysis was used in this study (Glaser & Strauss, 1967).

Findings: We uncovered a process consisting of three major components. First, a defining aspect of the self is challenged by a life experience. The experience is then interpreted to protect the self by learning growth-inhibiting outcomes. If and when the threat is reduced, meaning-making can lead to growth.

A Defining Aspect of the Self is Challenged: Some life experiences become learning experiences and others do not. Those that get our attention are ones that link with our personal history. The experience identified in this study not only linked with personal history, it challenged some defining, central aspect of the self. Greg, for example, explained that he had always had "very clear external definitions of what it means to be parent, father, spouse, husband, friend, whatever....I was the caretaker for the family....I would just be walking along and think, 'Holy Cow! I'm divorced! Little Greg doesn't get divorced!'" Mary also had her image of a competent student challenged by a role-playing experience. As she explained, "It was just so humiliating and embarrassing ...at a time in undergraduate school when you're still trying to assert yourself as having some degree of expertise at something."

The Experience is Interpreted: If that aspect of the self which is challenged is highly vulnerable, and/or if the challenge is viewed as too threatening to the self, the meaning one makes of the experience results in the learning of growth-inhibiting behaviors or attitudes. These behaviors function to protect the self from closer examination of the experience. In our study, our participants (a) blamed others or the situation, (b) became hostile or angry, (c) withdrew or avoided similar situations, and/or (d) became distrustful or fearful. Many of our participants expressed several of these emotions.

Blame. Blaming others or the situation for the occurrence of the experience was one response. For example, Jack blamed the supervising teacher for a disastrous student teaching experience: "But I noticed that there wasn't a day, not one day, that went by that there wasn't some kind of question from her about my hearing... And I also realized that there wasn't anything I could do right for her, nothing."

Anger. Anger, bitterness, hostility--these were common reactions to experiences that had threatened or undermined some defining aspect of the self. In some cases, respondents were angry years after the event. Pat, for example, had been fired four years before our interview: "They had laid me off for no reason... and I wasn't supposed to be angry with them?" Another participant, Susan, who was abandoned by her husband nine years ago when she was six months pregnant, expressed her anger in no uncertain terms: "I hated his guts. I really did. I wanted something to happen to him. I wanted him to get in his car and drive off a cliff."

Withdrawal. Some of our participants interpreted their experience by withdrawing. Pat, who lost her job, spoke about it being "an extremely difficult period of just wanting to go off somewhere and crawl in a hole and lick your wounds." Georgia, who was the victim of an attempted kidnapping, recalled spending the next year or so concentrating on her studies in the library. "It was a way for me to be out in the public without having to socialize with anybody. It was a nice, safe environment."

Distrust. Many of the participants in this study spoke of becoming distrustful and fearful as a result of the experience. Although it's been over seven years since her attempted kidnapping, Georgia said, "I get paranoid if somebody's ringing my doorbell and it's late at night... I'm very distrustful of people, more so than I ever was." An additional factor for Georgia was perceiving her attacker to be a minority (although he turned out not to be). The result has been a fear of minorities and her becoming prejudiced: "So I had this incredible fear of minorities... And that is still with me today... And I also probably have a greater bias toward minorities than I did before." Finally, Ruth, who was shaken by the knowledge she had been adopted, reported how she doesn't trust anybody because "I can't even trust my own mom...I have the sense that I have been abandoned so that I will be abandoned in the future. And this notion leads to another notion that nobody is trustworthy."

The Threat is Reduced: Although we were focused on uncovering the mechanism behind learning resulting in growth-inhibiting outcomes, we felt a few of our participants were moving toward reversing the outcome of their learning. We were thus able to glimpse what factors might not only reverse the process, but facilitate a growth-enhancing movement in the first place. These included some combination of the following four factors: (a) support networks; (b) recognition of a sense of personal agency (i.e., the ability to take control) and resulting action; (c) the passage of time; and (d) shifting focus from the specific experience to a larger perspective. Of the six who had at least begun to examine the experience, Greg seems to have made the most progress.

Greg said he came to see the divorce as "bigger than just two people who decided to end a marriage." He realized that had he just "focused on what happened in this marriage, I'd still be working on what happened....[rather than] looking at it as part of my whole self, and going over what has brought me to who I am in my life now... Just being aware of something doesn't mean that you grow. I think there had to be a combination of both awareness of action and doing." Greg has also begun to recognize his own sense of agency and to take action.

The passage of time, a sense of personal agency and taking action were what helped Cindy get beyond her anger and grief over her husband's untimely death. She said, as several others in our study did, "It simply takes time." However, "You do have to act on your situation." She recalled her action to retire earlier and move to another state: "I think what got me out of that slump was the move that I made... Well, I had to make a decision. Was I going to allow things to possess me, or was I going to take charge?"

In summary, our investigation found that the process of learning resulting in negative outcomes begins with a negatively interpreted life experience that challenges some defining aspect of the self. A growth-enhancing response would be to examine the experience in relation to the defining aspect of the self that is challenged, and make meaning of the experience that enlarges the self. However, if that aspect of the self is too vulnerable or the experience too threatening, another response might be to learn one of the behaviors or attitudes uncovered in this study to protect the self.

Because our respondents were at different places in the process of dealing with these experiences, we were able to get a sense of the larger process of learning from life experience. At one end of a continuum might be Jill who freely states, "I'm still scared to be alone; I don't know if I'll ever get over it." On the other end, those like Greg who had begun to reverse the process and were moving toward interpreting the experience as growth-enhancing, were undergoing a shift in their perspective, had support and enough time, and were developing a personal sense of agency and action.

Discussion: Not all significant learning experiences lead to growth; some learning experiences result in outcomes that learners themselves label as growth-inhibiting. Numerous writers have identified a major threat to one's self image as a barrier to learning (Daloz, 1986; Maslow, 1968). While we agree that the learning process can be truncated by a major threat to the self, this was not the case with our participants. We interviewed adults whose encounter with a life experience resulted in significant learning and subsequent change in some aspect of their outlook, behavior, or attitude. There was a change in the self, but it was in the opposite direction of Rogers, Maslow, Mezirow and others' notion of growth. Rather than engaging the self or that aspect of the self challenged by the life experience and growing, our respondents protected the self and changed in growth-inhibiting ways.

An alternative explanation for the growth-inhibiting outcomes might be that the negative behaviors our respondents learned in order to protect the self are actually part of a process of eventually moving to positive learning outcomes. From the adult learning and development literature's perspective these behaviors are growth-inhibiting. But for a time, these responses might function as coping mechanisms to protect the self from more serious psychopathological outcomes. Our findings suggest just such a possibility as several participants in our study appeared to be in the process of reversing their meaning-making toward more growth-oriented outcomes. We speculate that taking cognitive control, as reported by several of our participants, may even be the first step in becoming more cognitively complex, and in reversing a growth-inhibiting response to one that is growth-enhancing.

Another finding of this study, that a reduction in threat through support can reverse the process, has major implications for interactions with adult learners. This study affirms the long-hold belief by adult educators that a safe learning environment, supportive mentoring relations and networks foster growth and development (Boud, Cohen, & Walker, 1993; Daloz, 1986; Knowles, 1980). That "support, trust, and confidence in the learner can help overcome negative influences and allow the person to act and think differently from the past" (Boud, Cohen, & Walker, 1993, p. 15) was dramatically evidenced in Mary's case. Eighteen years after a disastrous video-taped role-playing experience in which she vowed never to engage in role-playing again, Mary was able to do it in a graduate class because "I trusted him [the professor] implicitly and I knew that he would not set me up."

The finding that time is a crucial ingredient in reversing a growth-inhibiting response also has implications for adult education practice. We have known that the timing of educational interventions is an important factor in learning (Aslanian & Brickell, 1980; Havighurst, 1952, 1972). But our study also suggests that adults need varying amounts of time to get enough beyond the experience to be able to grapple with it in healthy ways. This time allotment varies widely from individual to individual, and probably can't be accelerated. The adult has to have the psychological space in his or her life to have room for learning. This is what McClusky's theory of margin argues (1970).

In conclusion, this study examined the process of learning from life experience that results in growth-inhibiting outcomes. The process began when some central defining aspect of the self was challenged by the life experience of our participants. The experience was interpreted as threatening and they responded by learning self-protective behaviors and attitudes. When and if the threat to the self was reduced by the passage of time, shifting to a larger perspective, support, and taking control, the process began to reverse itself toward more growth-oriented outcomes. These findings extend our understanding of learning from life experience. They also have implications for adult educators who can attend to the factors that might not only enable a reversal of learning gone awry, but facilitate a positive, growth-enhancing movement in the first place.

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IMPACT OF ECONOMIC CRISIS AND STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT ON EDUCATION AND TRAINING IN AFRICA

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Abstract: This paper examines the impact of economic crisis and structural adjustment on education and training in Africa, and the major implications for adult education.

For many African countries, recent years have been characterized by severe economic and political crises. While foreign aid has provided some relief, it has been accompanied by an increasing debt burden (Ghai, 1991; George, 1988). With the pressure and advice of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, most African countries adopted `Structural Adjustment Programs' (or SAPs).

Although preliminary research generally suggests that the burden of economic crisis and structural adjustment has severely affected education and training in most African countries (Cornia et al., 1992; Noss, 1991; Reimers and Tiburcio, 1993), the recent findings thus far are limited, fragmentary, and often contradictory. Worse still, the picture of specific responses to economic crisis and structural adjustment in education and training remains very undeveloped. There is need for a fuller understanding of the responses of education and training to the economic crisis and SAPs as well as the international, economic, and political environment that circumscribes those responses.

The main purpose of the study was two fold. First, the study examined the **instrumental responses** of education and training to economic crisis and SAPs. Specifically, four main variables were examined. These were: (i) changes in the level and distribution of household incomes which affect the social demand for education and training and the private capacity to pay for it; (ii) changes in public sector budgets , particularly in relation to expenditures and reallocations on various levels of education and training; (iii) changes in the levels and distribution of employment and patterns in the labor market, which affect work opportunities and hence the incentive to invest in education and training and (iv) changes in company incomes and tax outlays that affect their training expenditures. Second, the study investigated how the responses of education and training have affected the **policy making** process in these sectors. The focus was on response as a decision making process and on political and economic contexts in which policies were implemented.

The rest of the paper has four main sections. The first section provides a brief overview of structural adjustment: its meaning, content and rationale. This is then followed by a discussion of the methodology and main research tasks undertaken in the study. The third, and main section then discusses the main findings and conclusions. The final section examines the implications of the general findings for adult education.

Structural adjustment: meaning, content and rationale

The term structural adjustment generally refers to a set of macroeconomic policy measures imposed by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) designed to try and correct fiscal and economic imbalances. Typically, a SAPs can contain 20 or more instruments. However, they often include the following common policy orientations: reduction of budget and balance of payments deficits through fiscal and monetary measures such as credit and wage constraints and employment freezes; promotion of the private sector through deregulation, contracting out of public services, and sale of state enterprises; market liberalization mainly through foreign exchange rate liberalization and alignment of domestic prices more closely to global prices. Price reforms have two dimensions: (i) use of prices as an instrument of policy for foreign exchange rationing; and, (ii) "getting prices right," through removal of `price distortions that lead to inefficient resource use and inadequate resource mobilization.' Finally, SAPs emphasize the rationalization of public sector institutions, involving civil service reform, rehabilitation, and liquidation or privatization of state enterprises.

There is a lot of controversy surrounding the rationale and general performance of SAPs since they were first implemented in Africa in the 1970s. The World Bank and its supporters continue to argue that SAPs are not only working but are actually the only "road ahead" for Africa (World Bank, 1994). On the other hand, there is growing chorus of international concern regarding the social costs of SAPs, especially in health and education. There is now a consensus that SAPs have not only failed to bring about "economic growth" but are actually exacerbating the economic and social crises in the South (UNECA, 1989; Cornia et al., 1992).

Methodology

In September, 1993, an International Working Group was organized to develop and conduct a policy-oriented research study on the impact of SAPs on education and training in a selected number of Southern countries. The countries included in the study from Africa were Cote d'Ivoire, Tanzania and Zambia. The study took the form of focussed country case studies carried out by a team of national researchers. The case study design was selected as an appropriate research strategy because of the two main advantages. First, case studies permitted a holistic study of both the content of education policies and their contexts. Second, case studies facilitated the examination of the connections among and the relative importance of different factors that conditioned and influenced education and training policies. The principal limitation of case studies was that they did not permit generalizability of their findings.

Each case study had two overlapping phases. Phase one focussed on assembling and analyzing secondary material, including statistics, reports and publications related to the each country's socio-economic background and "structural adjustment experience." The purpose of this phase was to bring together existing information and analysis on the country's experience with SAPs and education and training. Phase two involved the collection and analysis of primary data from senior policy officials and administrators representing a convenient sample from the education and training sectors. It focused on documenting their perceptions of how the responses of education and training have affected the policy making process. This focussed on three important policy issues: resource use and allocation, resource generation including cost recovery and privatization, and policy making dynamics.

Methodological issues

The main controversy centers on how to attribute the observed changes in a number of selected variables to structural adjustment since it is hard to know how things would have turned out in the absence of adjustment. Furthermore, while it may be desirable to disaggregate the macroeconomic crisis from those of structural adjustment, it is impossible to separate the effects of structural adjustment from the consequences of the macroeconomic crisis, and in any case, it was not analytically useful. Research on the impact of SAPs also poses several difficult challenges.

First, much of the impact is indirect, and several factors may influence the intended and unintended effects of SAPs on education and training. Second, the impacts of economic crisis and restructuring are to a large extent situationally specific. For example, the reduced role of the state may increase opportunities for funding for adult education through the NGO sector in one setting and discourage it in another, or even both in the same setting. Third, research on structural adjustment necessarily focuses on policy and inevitably on politics of the relationship between the national government and external agencies on the one hand and the national government and the populace on the other (Gibbon, 1993).

Findings and conclusions

The findings are presented at two levels. The first level provides an overview of the general findings regarding the impact of SAPs in terms of the four variables examined. The second level permitted us to explore how the responses of education and training have affected the policy making process in these sectors. The focus was on response as a decision making process and on political and economic contexts in which policies were implemented.

First, although the effects between SAPs on household income represented a complex web of interrelationships, the study found that SAPs had contributed to a sharp fall in real household income, and high inflation and the removal subsidies contributed to sharp increases in the prices of food and other essential commodities. This seriously constrained the ability of the average households to contribute to the costs education and training. This was exacerbated by the crude cost recovery policies which required families to pay fees, or other user charges, or shifting part of the cost of books or materials to parents.

The second mechanism through which adjustment impacted education provision were the changes created in public education finance that resulted from the pressure to reduce public spending. The study found that education expenditure declined as percentage of gross national product (GNP), and as a percentage of government budgets and in real terms. This confirmed findings by earlier studies that education expenditure as a percentage of GNP diminished significantly more in countries which underwent adjustment than in those that did not, and that the expenditure on education in Africa as a percentage of GNP by 1983 had fallen to 1970 levels (Woodhall, 1991). Public expenditure also affected training, but the impact was less severe because sources of finance for training were generally much more diversified. Finally, adult and continuing education was even worse hit. The adult education share (compared to other levels of education) of the education budget in all the three case studies had dropped to less than 2 percent.

With regard to employment and labor market, the study found that although there were some variations, the effect of the structural adjustment policies was that open unemployment had increased in all the cases. For example, due to "public sector reform" policies, in Zambia, public sector unemployment increased by over 39% between 1987 and 1993. In Cote d'Iviore, formal and productive sector unemployment increased by over 34%, as enterprises made large numbers redundant. The overall result was that unemployment more than doubled. In all cases, informal sector unemployment increased by over 35%, and without this refuge unemployment would have tripled. These findings confirmed conclusions of earlier studies by ILO-JASPA (1988), and Morrison (1992).

The effects of increasingly levels of unemployment and under-employment was that it lead to a reduction in the demand for education in many African countries. There is growing evidence (for example, ILO-JASPA, 1988) that the unemployment rates of high school leavers was between 30 and 70 per cent in most African countries. Finally, demand for education has also been affected by reductions in earnings differentials, as a result of the imposition of wage freeze in many African countries particularly for public sector employees.

Finally, the study found that, although cuts in public expenditure have resulted in reduced expenditure for vocational training programs because of varied sources of financing for training, the impact has been less severe. For example, in Cote d'Ivoire, all registered firms pay a levy of 1.2 per cent of payroll to the National Regulation Fund, which allocates this to enterprises which are undertaking training or collective projects proposed by employer's associations, trade unions, or technical ministries. Furthermore, with the reduced role of the state, there was a growing involvement in training by NGOs, both local and foreign. While this development may in the short term have a mitigating effect on the shortfall of funds and resources, it is important to carefully monitor and coordinate this NGO-private sector involvement so that the training programs offered are at the very least in line with a given country's national development priorities.

Education and training policy responses to SAPs

Building on the first level of findings summarized above, the second level focusses on how the responses of education and training have affected the policy making process in these sectors. In the context of increasing economic and financial crisis, and declining government revenues and expenditures, a major consequence of economic crisis and SAPs seemed to have been transformations in policy making process. Although the three governments adopted different strategies or policy responses, certain common trends and patterns emerge from the comparisons of the case studies. For convenience of presentation, these patterns are grouped into four major responses: finance, quality, access, and policy agenda and process.

First, despite the severity of the economic crisis and cuts in public expenditure, governments made great efforts to protect the education budget wherever possible, and cost recovery policies have forced households to accept an increasing share of educational costs. However, governments have been less successful in maintaining stated priorities in the reallocation of resources. In all the cases, there were wide discrepancies between stated government priorities and actual reallocations. In all three cases, government reallocation of resources still favored higher education, and penalized other levels of education, even though official policies favored basic education. Adult and continuing education was particularly badly neglected. Finally, all the countries have responded to declining public expenditure by shifting a significant amount of costs of education to households, despite the sharp decline in real incomes brought about by economic crisis and SAPs. Similarly, privatization of education has increased rapidly: in Tanzania, over 45% of pupils enrolled in school in 1993 were in private schools (Lugalla, 1993), and in Zambia, private school enrolment had risen from below 10% in 1988 to over 35% in 1991 (CSO, 1994).

Although the evidence was incomplete, and there were disagreements regarding what exactly constituted "educational quality", the study found that there were declining levels of teacher qualifications, growing teacher dissatisfaction and disaffection, low morale, shortages of books and instructional materials, and deteriorating facilities. The case studies also found that there has been a deskilling of the instructional workforce. Partly in response to World Bank and partly due to pressure of resources, there has been a tendency to reduce pre-service education for teachers at all levels. In Zambia and Tanzania, sharp declines in examination scores and pass and retention rates suggest a broader decline in the quality of education across all levels.

With regard to access and equity, enrollment seemed to have suffered less than quality, as governments opted for "cheap" expansion by reducing expenditure per pupil or by encouraging private schools to absorb the excess or by having double or triple shifts. Partly due cost recovery policies and the cuts in public funding for education, the studies found growing disparities between the rich and poor, and boys and girls. In particular, an increasing number of rural poor and girls were being denied access even to basic education. This was the case in all three countries: inequality in access to and promotion within the education system seemed to have increased. Also, more affluent constituencies have either been able to purchase higher quality private education or to organize politically to protect the type of education that served them, thereby permitting the rest of the education system to deteriorate.

Finally, SAPs have also affected not only the policy making process but also the education and training agenda in terms of the goals and priorities. The dominance of World Bank in the financing of education has brought with it a new emphasis on financial criteria in setting priorities. Along with development, national ministries of finance and other "economic ministries" as collaborators of the World Bank have become very powerful and influential actors in the national policy making process. The fixation on finance has eclipsed the broader goals of education of national integration, citizenship, equity, and others. Ironically, SAPs seem to have undermined the much publicized commitment to basic education. In spite of the high profile agreement to implement the 1991 **Education For All** priorities, in all three countries studied higher education has increased its share of total education resources.

Lastly, the study found that the reduced role of the state had created a vacuum which was rapidly being filled a new actors in the policy making process. One of the major effects of SAPs is that it contributed to a weakening of the domestic capacity to analyze and choose between policy choices. Not surprisingly, foreign or external agencies and organizations have emerged as powerful brokers of education and training policy. As providers of critically needed funds, foreign agencies have acquired the most influential policy, both directly and indirectly. In all the three countries studied, planning and decision have become so heavily influenced by the agencies' views and priorities that the agenda setting process has, in my view, been "hijacked."

Some implications for adult education

This final section discusses some implications of the above findings for adult education. It should be emphasized that there are very few studies which examine **directly** with the impact of SAPs on adult education. This section draws heavily on my work with the UNESCO-Institute for Education Project on The Expanding Legislative and Policy Environment of Adult Education in 1994, and my recent field work on the "Coping with Cost Recovery" Project in 1995 in Africa.

One major implication of the impact of SAPs on adult education is due to the reductions in public expenditure, and cuts in education budgets, adult education financing from the state is likely to decline sharply. Adult education budgets have all but disappeared in most Ministries of Education in Africa (Hall, forthcoming). For various reasons, adult education is often an "easier target" than primary education or higher education.

Another possible implication is that given the very reduced resources for adult education, training and retraining of adult educators (both pre-service and in-service) is likely to be constrained. Partly due this, there may be some deskilling of adult education workforce. Finally, partly as a result of the global policy agenda and the requirements and priorities of SAPs (such as job skills for export oriented activities), there is likely to be both state and private sector emphasis on a vocationalization of adult education provision. The restructuring of African economies to conform to the vulgarities of the global economy generally means that there will be a narrower range of jobs related skills training programs. As result of this general trend towards vocationalization and marketization of adult education, forms of adult education which do not relate to these focusses are unlikely to receive significant support from the state nor the private-NGOs "partnerships".

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AFTER THE PROGRAM IS OVER: EXPLORING TEAMS AND APPLICATION

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Abstract: This study found no significant association between extent of post-training application among those who attended training in teams, with others but not as a team, or alone. Unless teams are considered in the planning, teaching, and evaluation of training, as well as given follow-up support, resources, authority, opportunity, and encouragement, separate team effects are unlikely.

Background: A frequent assumption in continuing education and training is that those who attend educational programs as teams are more likely to apply learning following such programs than those who attend alone. In research to explore extremes in application, i.e., those who report extensive post-training application and those that report none, an early cut on the data explored application differences by team attendance. The relationship between team attendance at training and subsequent application holds implications for program planners, educators, and policy makers. It is the focus of this study.

The context for the study is a national evaluation of the Center for Substance Abuse Prevention (CSAP) Training System (CTS). The overall intent of the CTS is to assist national and local organizations, States, and communities in making sustained changes needed to prevent alcohol, tobacco, and other drug abuse. Over 5500 participants attended one or more of the 23 different types of CTS trainings offered in 137 events across the U.S. in 1994. Included among the participants were over 1400 health professionals. All CTS training and technical assistance efforts prepare participants for subsequent application. With a requirement that teams attend some of the CTS trainings and the fact that nearly half (46%) of all participants did so, the CTS provided a viable context to explore team and application links.

Literature Review: According to Bottom and Baloff (1994) team building is one of the most common organizational interventions. Much of the literature on teams is found in non-research journals directed towards trainers and managers in business and industrial settings. Although team-related interventions are touted as effective organizational tools (Huszczo, 1990; Jessup, 1992), little or no empirical evidence is cited to support these claims. Evidence that was found on team performance proved inconclusive and was based on methodologically weak studies (De Meuse & Liebowitz, 1981). One multiple-study review concluded that "...in some circumstances team development interventions may have enhanced work group effectiveness" (Sundstrom, De Meuse, & Futrell, 1990, p. 128). One-shot training for teams proved inadequate (Cottrell, Capwell, & Brannan, 1995).

Teams do not exist in a vacuum. A number of studies explored environmental factors that influence teams, including support, monitoring, organizational structure, and team leadership. One study found that team training alone was insufficient to ensure implementation of skills learned in interdisciplinary, community-based training (Anderson, Whall, Algase, Grillis & Halter, 1994). These conclusions were supported in a literature review of organizational training, including the post-training environment (Tannenbaum & Yukl, 1992). Supervisor support, supplemented with continued monitoring and subsequent modifications, proved important to interdisciplinary teamwork (McClure, 1984). The hierarchical structure of traditional organizations conflicts with the non-hierarchical nature of teams (Gerber, 1994). To survive the traditional organizational structure, teams need leadership and organizational change skills (Livingood & Woodhouse 1992).

In summary, it is unlikely that team attendance at training, without other kinds of contextual supports, is sufficient to affect post-training application. This study explores these conclusions. Is team attendance associated with extent of post-training application? Is team attendance associated with contextual supports to application?

Methodology: Pre, post, and two-month follow-up questionnaires were administered to health professionals (n=1454) in six prevention-based training programs repeated at 48 events during 1994. The questionnaires, based on the Application Process Framework, identify five factors with potential to affect post-training application including characteristics of the training program, the innovation to be applied, the individual learner, and enabling and reinforcing characteristics in the context of application (Ottoson, in press). Separate CTS programs were attended by nurses (n=699), physicians (n=110), dental workers (n=61), physician assistants (n=19), mental health counselors (n=414), or rehabilitation specialists (n=151). Profession-specific training for each of the six groups consisted of a one-day workshop. While all CTS trainings encourage a collaborative approach to learning, training for "Medical Specialists: Dental Teams" was most explicit in soliciting team attendance.

The independent variable determined participants' attendance group in one of three categories: (1) team, (2) with others, but not as a team, or (3) alone. Two dependent variables asked the extent to which the participant had, as a result of the workshop: "made changes in how you do your work" or "increased substance abuse prevention activities." Five-point Likert scales were used, 1= not at all and 5=extremely. A third dependent variable used a ten-point Likert scale to measure the extent to which "the workshop made a difference in the way you do your job." On this scale, 1 = no difference and 10= substantial difference. Hereafter, these three dependent variables are referred to respectively as *changes*, *prevention*, and *difference*. Enabling and reinforcing variables measured the extent to which the following existed in the post-training context of application: resources, encouragement from others, opportunity to act, authority to act, and support from others for changes implied by the workshop. Five-point Likert scales were used for these variables, 1=not at all and 5=substantial.

All quantitative data were treated as nominal or ordinal. Most five-point scales were converted as follows: low (1,2), medium (3), or high (4,5); ten-point scales were converted as follows: low (1-4), medium (5-7), or high (8-10). Association between variables was analyzed with the Chi-square test. The level of significance was set at $\rho=.05$. Qualitative data were reviewed from open-ended items on the follow-up questionnaire for team references.

Several levels of analyses were conducted. The first level of analysis explored variable distribution. In the second level of analysis, those with an identification number on the pre-questionnaire were compared with those who had matched identification numbers at pre, post, and follow-up: nurses (n=130), physicians (n=36), dental workers (n=9), physician assistants (n=5), mental health counselors (n= 82), and rehabilitation specialists (n=34). Sixteen variables, drawn from across the Application Process Framework, were used for this comparison. Due to low, matched follow-up rates, dental workers, physicians, and physician assistants were combined as medical specialists (n=50). The third level of analysis examined the association between the independent variable and the three outcome measures at post and follow-up. The fourth level of analysis explored the association between the five enabling and reinforcing variables and three outcome variables for all respondents and for teams only. For the later, five-point scales were converted as follows: low (1-3) and high (4-5). Study limitations include a low matched response rate, lack of comparisons for team training, and inability to verify application.

Results: Team participation varied across trainings: 42% of the rehabilitation specialists attended as teams, as did 33% of the mental health counselors, 21% of the nurses, and 18% of the medical specialists. Within medical specialists, 43% of dental workers attended in teams, as did 7% of the physicians and 5% of the physicians assistants. The remainder of respondents attended alone or with others, but not as a team. The groups varied in their rating of the three outcome variables at follow-up. High ratings of *changes* were made by 46% of the mental health counselors, 43% of the nurses, 31% of the medical specialists, and 24% of the rehabilitation specialists. High ratings of *prevention* were made by 52% of the mental health counselors, 40% of the nurses, 39% of the medical specialists, and 17% of the rehabilitation specialists. High ratings of *difference* were made by 35% of the mental health counselors, 30% of the nurses, and 15% of both the medical specialists and the rehabilitation specialists.

Chi-square tests showed no significant differences between participants who completed only a pre-workshop questionnaire (n=1454) and those who had matched pre, post, and follow-up data (n=284) on the following demographic variables: team attendance, gender, age, work focus on treatment or prevention, and previous training in substance abuse prevention. Further, no significant differences were found between groups on post-questionnaire ratings of training methods or usefulness, intent towards the three dependent variables, feeling able to apply learning, and potential opportunity to apply learning. Significant differences were found on three variables. In comparison with the unmatched group, the matched group had more participants with graduate degrees (48% vs 34%), a higher proportion of ratings indicating substantial preparation for application (30% vs 25%), and a lower proportion of ratings indicating substantial resources to support post-training application (21% vs 14%).

At baseline, the Chi-square test showed a significant association, $\rho=.01$, between attendance group and expectation that the workshop would make a difference for all respondents (n=1419). Low ratings of *difference* were made by 11% of those who came alone, 8% of those who came with others, and 5% of those who attended as a team. High ratings of *difference* were made by 47% of those who came alone, 47% of those who came with others, and 46% of those who attended as a team. At baseline, no significant difference, $\rho=.89$, was found between attendance groups and expectation that the workshop would make a difference for respondents matched across time (n=281). At post, there was no significant difference between attendance group and expectation of post-training difference for all participants (n=1159), $\rho=.85$, or for matched respondents (n=279), $\rho=.99$. At follow-up, there was no significant association between *difference* and attendance group (n=278), $\rho=.19$.

At post, Chi-square tests for matched respondents showed no significant differences between attendance group and intent towards the other two outcome variables: *changes* ($\rho=.91$) and *prevention* ($\rho=.09$). High ratings of intent toward *changes* were made by 69% of those who attended alone, 63% of those who came with others, and 68% of those who attended in teams. High ratings of intent toward *prevention* were made by 83% of those who came alone, 70% of those who came with others, and 66% of those who came in teams. At follow-up, Chi-square tests showed no significant differences between attendance groups and ratings of these two outcome variables: *changes* ($\rho=.37$) and *prevention* ($\rho=.32.$). High ratings of *changes* at follow-up were made by 39% of those who came alone, 32% of those who came with others, and 41% of those who came in teams. High ratings of *prevention* at follow-up were made by 44% of those who came alone, 40% of those who came with others, and 36% of those who attended in teams.

At follow-up, Chi-square tests showed a significant association, $\rho=.00$, for all matched respondents (n=284) between the three outcome variables and all five enabling and reinforcing variables. For matched participants who attended in teams (n=61), *changes* showed the following associations with contextual variables: sufficient resources, $\rho=.19$, encouragement from others, $\rho=.04$, opportunity to act, $\rho=.07$, authority to act, $\rho=.00$, and support for changes implied by the training , $\rho=.03$. For matched participants who attended in teams (n=61), *prevention* showed the following associations: sufficient resources, $\rho=.02$, encouragement from others, $\rho=.03$, opportunity to act, $\rho=.01$, authority to act, $\rho=.00$, and support for changes implied by the training, $\rho=.03$. For matched participants who attended in teams (n=61), *difference* showed the following associations: sufficient resources, $\rho=.01$, encouragement from others, $\rho=.01$, opportunity to act, $\rho=.04$, authority to act, $\rho=.00$, and support for changes implied by the training, $\rho=.00$.

Few qualitative comments were found in the data directly relating to teams. Comments that were found included hopes that the workshop would bring a group of participants together as a team, getting to know team members on a more personal basis, working together as a team in a supportive environment, and networking with other participants from the community.

Discussion: Team attendance alone is not sufficient to effect post-training application. This finding supports earlier research by Anderson et al. (1994) and Tannenbaum & Yukl (1992). The persistent suggestion that team attendance is sufficient lulls educators, training sponsors, and team participants themselves into minimizing team needs for the same contextual support associated with all training participants (Davis, Thomson, Oxman, & Haynes, 1995). The suggestion is particularly problematic for community-based training where there is greater diversity and wider parameters than within-organization training. Community-based teams in the CTS, for example, may come from multiple organizations, professions, and reward systems. In the complexities of community practice, it is unlikely that being a member of a team -- or any other single characteristic -- will be sufficient for application. The Application Process Framework suggests otherwise, i.e., multiple, interacting factors influence application and appear to be effective even in the absence of teams.

Among those influences were the enabling and reinforcing variables tested in this study. The significant association between application and contextual supports, e.g. resources, encouragement from others, opportunity to act, authority to act, and support for changes implied by the training, supports earlier research by McClure (1984) and Livingood & Woodhouse (1992). The more it is assumed team members have each other for support, the less an effort may be made to enable and reinforce other kinds of support associated with application. In addition to study questions, other findings add to an understanding of teams and application.

A unit of consideration. Teams are entities to be reckoned with in community training whether they are planned for or not. A high percentage of team participation was found in all health professional training. While dental training sought team attendance, only 43% of the participants attended in teams; in comparison, rehabilitation specialists did not specifically seek team attendance, but 41% attended in teams. The variation in team attendance may have more to do with cultural patterns within professions than attendance status suggested by program planners. It is not surprising that independent practitioners were more likely to attend alone, than in teams. This high level of team participation means that program planners, educators, and evaluators are faced with a group of training participants who look like individuals, but nearly half of whom identify themselves as team members. How can this affiliation be harnessed? How might we respond differently to teams than individuals?

The path of high expectations and good intentions. Most CTS respondents entered training with high expectations, even more so for teams. These expectations were leveled to those of non-team participants by the end of the training. The shared expectations of teams may have met implementation realities of teamwork during the training or may have been the result of lack of attention to teams. More understanding of what happens to teams during training is needed. By the end of the training, all CTS participants left fired up. High ratings are given to their intentions toward training outcomes. Two months later, high ratings of their actions on these same outcome variables are at least cut in half. This was as evident for teams an non-team participants. Team attendance was not sufficient to sustain end of training motivation.

In conclusion, does this mean there is no role for teams in training and application? No. The findings of this study warn about assumptions of the effects of team attendance at training. The study also leaves a lot of unanswered questions about teams that deserve further research.

Future Research: Both qualitative and quantitative research are needed to advance an understanding of the relationship between teams and application. Qualitative research is needed to explore the meaning of "team" to participants, their sponsors, and adult educators. In this study, it would have been helpful to understand on what basis respondents decided if they were members of a team or with others, but not as part of a team. Quantitative and/or qualitative research may be used to explore the composition, contexts, purpose, age, and other characteristics of teams. A richer and more complex understanding of teams is needed to match the complexities of application.

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METAPHORS OF ADULT EDUCATORS' IDENTITY AND PRACTICE

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Time is but a stream I go a-fishing-in. I drink at it; but while I drink I see the sandy bottom and detect how shallow it is. Its thin current slides away, but eternity remains. I would drink deeper; fish in the sky, whose bottom is pebbly with stars. -Thoreau

Perhaps Thoreau's words can help us reflect on the process of "making metaphors," an act of naming images that can help us consider the almost inexpressible parts of our existence. Once conjured into existence, a metaphor is like a pool of water. It can be revisited to sip or drink deeply from. Our study explores the metaphors adult educators use to describe their practice. We believe the exercise of creating metaphors helps educators become more self-aware and self-reflective. We have based our work on Deshler's (1990) process of helping people create and examine personal metaphors as a method of fostering critical reflection.

Metaphor. "Metaphor" is Greek for transfer (meta means trans, or "across;" phor means fer or "ferry"). Imagination helps join us to our world by recreating it personally. Cole (1990) argues that metaphors carry understandings from context to context so that both the old ideas and the new context are transformed (pp. 5-6). Images, the language of metaphors, are multi-faceted symbols of sensory-emotional associations. Compact and multi-layered, they convey complexity in a single frame that communicates powerfully to emotional, intuitive, and rational understanding. An image provides an engaging way to grasp a new idea on many levels, including as a powerful medium for expressing the idea's totality. We make, for example, pictures of teaching practice by stepping away far enough to confront it, often with the shock of looking in a mirror after a long time in the wilderness; or, alternatively, by looking at the refreshing wilderness after a long time of listening to the honking confusion of cities.

One difficulty with metaphors [Gareth Morgan (1986)] is that they frame understandings in partial ways. Metaphors highlight certain interpretations and force others to the background. They circumscribe experience so we can come to "know" it. Metaphors, like windows, are framed by walls. They are particular in what they permit the viewer to see. Metaphors juxtapose different things, like the world inside and the world outside. Metaphors also simplify and freeze reality. Squeezing contradictions into the "coherence" of a metaphor can distort vision. For example, our society, like any culture, frequently stretches its own favorite metaphors (illness and healing, competition, taming nature) to represent a broad range of activities. Adult education has its own favored metaphors, like weaving, that people sometimes stretch to fit their own practice despite wrinkles and ripped seams. Finally, people tend to invoice pleasant, positive images that appeal to their cultural aesthetic.

For these reasons, we must interpret metaphors cautiously, careful to note the context and the process of metaphoric meaning-making. Metaphorical imagination can be fallible and idiosyncratic. Metaphors are open to multiple interpretations, and should never be treated as transparent representations symbolizing an individual's sense of self. Heeding our own cautions, we still maintain that metaphors provide windows into human thinking. Our study attempts to yield observations that may help encourage further thinking and research about the role and identity of the adult educator as perceived by practitioners. Beyond encouraging professional reflection, we believe that adult educators' metaphors are succinct, rich, and complex representations of deeply-held assumptions and beliefs about adult learning, the teaching-learning process, the activity of adult education, and their identity as adult educators.

Deshler (1990) suggests a five-step process that has helped adult educators analyze their own metaphors of personal practice. During the first and second steps, adult educators create and extend a picture that captures the most essential aspects of their practice. In the third step (**analysis**) students take a hard look at their metaphors. With the help of others, they challenge their visions with searching questions, uncovering gaps and silences, looking at the implications of their own metaphors as they are unraveled. They also compare their metaphor of practice with their ideal image of themselves in practice. In the fourth step, students compare what they have discovered about themselves and their actual practice, depicted metaphorically, to what they believe constitutes "good" practice. The goal of this comparison is to critically question: "Is this what I want to be?" In step five **(recreation)** students evaluate and recommit to their own metaphors -- asking questions that serious consider how they might, if they choose, remake their own experience. Deshler (1990) argues that metaphors exert unobtrusive influence, shaping and governing meaning; but, the act of creating the metaphor helps "exorcise the 'ghosts' of our socialization so that we can freely choose meanings out of which we want to live our lives." (p. 296)

When we started using Deshler's ideas, we were interested in the transformative potential of metaphor-making for adult educators. We noted parallels with the practice of visualization credited with producing dramatic changes in people's beliefs and performance in other fields, such as sports. For example, Timothy Gallwey's The Inner Game of Tennis emphasizes the importance of clearly imaging one's current way of being, then visualizing with concrete detail one's desired way of being. The power of the image, uninhibited by the barriers created by the lumbering "rational mind," works on the self to create change. Gallwey's orientation is uncomfortably instrumental and competency-based; however, we wondered if his approach, when grounded in the world of individuals' meaning-making contexts and driven by a developmental rather than a discrepancy means-end approach, could be adapted and combined with Deshler's idea of critical reflection toward professional growth.

The methods of our study. We introduced Deshler's process of creating and analyzing personal metaphors of practice to adult educators enrolled in a Certificate in Adult and Continuing Education offered by the Faculty of Extension at the University of Alberta. Participants ranged in the amount and nature of experience they had accumulated in adult education, although all had experienced actually teaching adult learners in contexts ranging from business or government training, to college teaching, to community development. Approximately 65 participants in four different classes (two in Adult Learning and Development; one Introduction to Adult Education; and one Foundations of Adult Education) were asked to develop and analyze their metaphors of practice. The activity was preceded by a discussion of the nature of metaphors and a brainstorming session to help people "shake out" images and prompt their visioning process. After this introduction, people were given a week to think about a metaphor. When they returned to class they shared their metaphors in small groups using a five-question protocol to guide their dialogue. These questions were designed to help extend, clarify, and illuminate contradictions in the metaphoric pictures. After this discussion, individuals described their metaphors in writing. Individuals were then guided through the remainder of the process, using a small-group dialogue protocol to help them consider what their metaphors revealed about themselves. Individuals were encouraged, where appropriate, to construct new metaphors to guide their practice.

The Findings of the Study. When we examined the written descriptions of educators' metaphors we noted the way these images presented the teaching-learning process. We asked questions like: Is learning depicted as fluid or static? Who controls learning? How is knowledge viewed? How is learning conceptualized? Is learning viewed as pre-determined or open-ended? Is learning depicted spatially or temporally? Is there a bounded endpoint to the learning process? What aspects of learning receive emphasis? What mood does the metaphor cast on learning? In what context is learning assumed to unfold, and how important does this context appear to be in the learning process? How is the educator's role in relation to the learner depicted? What dimensions of this role receive emphasis? What control is evident? Who else figures in the learning process?

Four Findings about Metaphor-making for Adult Educators

1. The metaphor-making process was distinctly unique for each person. Different people create different metaphors to represent their practice. Many enjoy the process, carefully finding the image that feels most "right." To some, an immediate picture emerges and they describe it with startling accuracy. Others reject their first picture, then thoughtfully cast for a metaphor that corresponds to every aspect they deem worth considering in their practice. A few are "seduced" to create an impressive picture for others' delectation that may or may not be faithful to their practice. Others find picture-making unnatural and produce a metaphor only with difficulty.

Except for those who found metaphor-making laborious, educators found the exercise liberating, creative, and fun. Some described a thrill of recognition and validation when they "found" a metaphor that resonated with their perception of practice. Some named the activity "puzzlemaking," encouraging "ingenuity" or "daring." Often, people drew metaphors from outside adult education -- an avocation (cooking, quilting, attending concerts) or past work (home construction or pig farming). Because adult educators come from many places, the emergence of "old" metaphors of practice raises questions about how images from our past shape new ventures in adult education. It seems reasonable to speculate that people use patterns already developed to define their new "self" and to understand the concrete relations between self, objects, and systems of the material world.

Metaphors reflect more than an individual's educational style and philosophy; they also reveal the environment in which a person works. We began to appreciate the idiosyncratic process of metaphor development and realized that metaphors illuminated only when considered within the context of the creator and the process of creation. For example, a woman who teaches life skills and personal development to "disadvantaged women," many who appear despondent and unmotivated, saw herself as a "fire-starter," rubbing sticks together. An air traffic controller trainer who teaches standard regulations and procedures sees his learners inside a tour bus that he drives. "Gardening" metaphors were most prevalent among people with teaching experience. One woman "tried on" three different metaphors, derived from objects she owned (a Navajo storyteller doll, a school teacher's bell, and her computer). She described the process as moving among shining foils, each reflecting taken-for-granteds in her own behavior. Although none "fit," she learned much about her sense of teaching identity.

The most detailed metaphors were generated by experienced teachers or coordinators of adult education, although detailed metaphors were also created by those with writing fluency. Sometimes a metaphor had an all-at-once quality; a picture fragment struck the imagination and was valued for a particular element. One woman seized the image of a fruit seller in a crowded open-air market and dwelt on the brilliant colors of the ripe fruit, the sharp sunlight, and the scarves in her hair and on her waist. A man suddenly saw himself as a squirrel (high up in a tree) and emphasized his own quick, clever, darting movements, as he hoarded or tossed nuts to the ground.

2. Metaphor-making was self-validating. Most participants noted that metaphors affirmed and celebrated their unique ways of practicing and thinking, which they did not decon-struct. The metaphor helped practitioners illuminate and validate their educational role. The metaphor also provided an identifiable and coherent picture that synthesized frag- ments of practice and belief into something concrete and communicable. Participants were more fascinated exploring their metaphoric images than in modifying or changing them.

3. Metaphor-making helped educators understand others. Adult educators expressed the non-threatening insights metaphors yielded into each other's motives and understandings about the purposes of education, the educator's role, and the learning process. The exercise provided a new appreciation for others' deep differences. Plenary class discussions also highlighted differences between practitioners' metaphors of adult education and the metaphors many were reading in current literature about learning organizations. Their metaphors tended to be organic, natural, vulnerable, and appealing in detail. They involved people, plants, or animals. These contrasted sharply with metaphors from training and development or learning organization literature, which leaned towards architecture and mechanical engineering.

4. Participants were reluctant to self-reflectively deconstruct personal metaphors. Curiously, only three educators changed their metaphors or sought metaphors that represented a practice or a philosophical orientation they wished to strive for. Most stated that the small group discussion helped them extend, clarify, and strengthen their metaphors, not criticize them. Watching small group discussions, we observed that participants were not hesitant to explain or justify their metaphors; in fact, the questioning process encouraged participants to help others understand their own metaphorical pictures. Participants solidly assumed the garb of the metaphor, rather than standing apart from it with the critical distance that Deshler's process requires. The more adult educators talked about their metaphors, the more grounded in them they became.

Six Thematic Findings from the Metaphor Analysis. We were struck by how many adult educators viewed themselves as different tour guides: safari guide, hiking leader, adventure outfitter, tour bus driver, or museum curator. We expected more educators to assume the metaphoric roles of "artist," actively creating or co-creating with the learner. We also expected to find the stock educational motif of "potter." Instead, educators depicted themselves as interpreters or technicians, following a recipe, pattern, or predetermined destinations on a journey. Six general themes emerged in the metaphoric representations of the role of adult educator. These are not separate and exclusive categories, but overlapping and interwoven themes. Nor do these themes represent all of the metaphors (some are so unique as to resist any generalization):

1. Adult educator as one who shows the way. In these depictions, learning was an adventurous journey, typically a rugged outdoor expedition climbing mountains or hacking through a jungle, where natural hazards were avoided through the prudent protection and watchful eye of the guide. The guide was an expert; not a co-explorer. The guide knew the terrain and pointed out things along the way. Neither the learner nor the guide acted upon "what was seen" to shape or invent knowledge. One notable exception to this frequently-appearing image was a metaphor of adult educator as captain, coordinating the efforts of colleagues on the Starship Enterprise, together exploring "brave new worlds," and boldly going "where no one has gone before."

2. Adult educator as catalyst. This metaphor focused on igniting the learner's motivation to wonder, seek, be empowered, or catch the "fire" of curiosity or the desire to know. The educator was an initiator. One woman struggled to find an image that did not place the learner in a passive place waiting to be "lit," and finally chose "crystal healer" -- catalyzing things in herself that naturally reflect and find resonance in those around her.

3. Adult educator as one who knows how. This metaphor saw the educator as a competent expert, sometimes a hero -- a master chef or a weathered outfitter. The focus was to first prove that something concrete can be done, such as baking a cake or climbing a mountain, then demonstrating, coaching exactly how to do it, and providing the tools for the job.

4. Adult educator as care-giver. Whether growing vegetables, raising magnificent roses, training dolphins, or tending pigs, the educator was often depicted as an all-knowing and unconditionally caring mother, watching learners closely and lovingly, and providing everything needed for comfortable, continual growth. The educator's programmatic agenda was to help people grow healthy and strong. One interesting variation was offered by a person raised in a relatively crowded country: the gardener was responsible for large expanses of crops and wild flowers, and rotated her time among them, abandoning many to storms and other ravages.

5. *Adult educator as dispenser of provisions* In metaphors of expeditions, demonstrations, and care-giving, the descriptions almost always included a list, often extensively detailed, of the tools and nutrients the educator provided for learners. Some metaphors reduced the educator's role to dispensing provisions: pouring tea at an elegant afternoon party, filling up dishes at a smorgasbord, spraying water on the grass, or giving out tools. The provisions themselves were not portrayed as knowledge, but as necessary items required in the process of obtaining knowledge.

6. *Adult educator as good host. A* theme that ran through some depictions of the educator as "tour guide" was the notion of welcoming and hosting people. One woman saw herself as the door to her own home; her key duty was to make visitors feel warm and welcome.

Analyzing Metaphoric Portrayals of the Adult Educator's Role. Overall, the characteristics of adult educators, illustrated in personal metaphors of practice developed by practicing educators, emphasized nurturing and helping learners explore or consume what is already there. Learning was not inventing new knowledge, either by the educator or the learners. Nor did educators view themselves as "artists." Those who saw their role as creative limited their powers to "crafting" something from a pattern specifying dimensions. The teacher' s role was almost always the initiator of the learning process. The educator was cast as controller or director -- the leader of the hiking tour, the safari guide, the crafter who quilts the coverlet, the cook who stirs and flavors the soup, the home builder, or the fire-starter.

Educators interacted with learners in a one-to-one relationship. Metaphors rarely saw learning unfolding in small groups or as inter-subjective exchanges of ideas. We also were curious that, in a time when assessment and accountability are central to adult education programming, metaphors ignored performance outcomes or the educator's role as "judge." Keeping learners safe and comfortable during a hazardous, outdoor, learning journey was more important. The main challenge was the body of knowledge to be mastered. The motive for the learning journey was the thrill and thirst for adventure. Knowledge was often an inert, transferable object for consumption -- whether by actually eating or through educational sight-seeing. For others, learning and teaching focused on individual learners' growth and expansion, following "natural" innate contours. Not one metaphor portrayed learning as a process of personal transformation or societal change. Nor did one metaphor seem to approach the notion of "warrior" embroiled in an active mission.

The learning environment was seen as detailed and concrete, possibly indicating how educators use the environment to shape their own roles. Many educators seem to conceptualize themselves in relation to this environment as an understanding of what knowledge is and who they are in relation to it. Learners are then "added" as a sort of well-hosted audience. Many educators see their task as rendering the environment benign, safe for learners. Even in mountain hiking adventures, the environment remains static and tame. Learners are observers, not active interactors. The risks are more thrilling than threatening and are easily conquered. One woman described a "jungle" but focused on its luxuriant moist greenery and floral odors. She seemed surprised when someone asked, what animals are in your jungle? Who survives? What's the "law of the jungle?"

In their metaphors, educators usually cast themselves as responsible for creating safety. The educator knows the terrain and retraces paths already discovered. The learner is removed and distant. Learners work with material that has already been uncovered for them -- recreative rather than creative. Metaphors usually emphasized the personal and local, with few references to organizational, societal, or cultural dynamics affecting the learning relationships and process. There appeared little recognition of political interests, agendas, and other power issues that might influence the learner's role vis-à-vis the educator's position. There was little acknowledgment of learning occurring outside the educator's purview of action.

The theme of consumption pervades the metaphors. Learners passively consume knowledge, soak up nutrients, taste gastronomic masterpieces, buy fruit, or tour the world consuming pretty vistas or adventurous experiences. Learning was usually seen to have a definite bounded endpoint. It may be pre-determined (the view from the top of the mountain, the end of the tour) or emergent (the taste and texture of the dish prepared by the chef) but it usually terminates with a reward. The learning process was generally standardized. Even in a highly individualized metaphor, like "gardening," learners are cast in a passive plant-like role with uniform needs. None of the metaphors identified the meaning-making process as active, with learners acting upon experience and new concepts, including the experience of relationship with an adult educator, to shape knowledge in personal ways.

Conclusion. Adult educators who work with us in picture-making and analysis often say that creating metaphors is one of the most revealing and creative ways to represent their practice to themselves. Dickey (1968) states that using metaphor is more than a way to understand; it is a way of recreating the world from its own parts. As we construct and critique metaphors, we are free to define our own creativity as the capacity to dictate and devise our own laws. The metaphor exercise presented in this paper allows educators to critically consider their own practice. Developing a metaphor of teaching is a confirming process of imaginatively recreating oneself through the power of a picture. Sharing this picture with others, and embracing their pictures in the process, connects and illustrates differences without destroying community.

We have found that pictures can illuminate and sometimes reshape adult educators' views of themselves, of knowledge, of the learning process, and of their relationship to learners. We are not sure where to go from here. People become attached to their metaphors and loathe to subject them to a process of self-reflective, critical analysis. Meanwhile, the portrayals often contradict the philosophies and approaches that educators espouse. We leave this paper torn between two unresolved and somewhat paradoxical findings. First, the process of shaping and refining a metaphor is a positive, self-affirming way to help an adult educator concretize a coherent vision of who they are and communicate this simply and powerfully to others. Second, the very process of creating such a picture, while surfacing contradictions and sometimes narrow, less-than-effective approaches to adult education, seems to entrench and validate these approaches. It does not, in our experience, entice individuals to critically examine their metaphors or explore alternatives.

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SURFACE & DEEP APPROACHES TO EVALUATING TEACHING

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Abstract: *The evaluation of teaching in adult and higher education tends to focus on surface rather than deep aspects of teaching perpetuating the perception that teaching is not scholarly work. Deep aspects of teaching are explained and nine principles for evaluation of teaching are offered.*

We are at a turning point in adult and higher education with regard to the evaluation of teaching. Institutions are awakening to demands that teaching be given more attention. Yet, the ways in which teaching is evaluated, in large part, are the most limiting factor to its being recognized in many institutional reward structures. While some authors argue convincingly that teaching should be recognized as scholarly work (e.g., Boyer, 1990), most institutions (in both adult and higher education) persist in using means of evaluation that either trivialize teaching, as a set of technical skills, or rely heavily on student opinion and self-reports (e.g., Seldin, 1991), which lack credibility in the eyes of administrators.

Ironically, these more 'user-friendly' approaches to evaluation that focus on technical matters, learner opinion, and personal portfolios are not only perceived as less than credible by many administrators, they do little to ease the angst that accompanies the process of evaluation. Anyone whose employment or promotion has ever been dependent (even slightly) on the evaluation of their teaching knows the tension that accompanies that experience. Even when colleagues are a part of it, the process is often filled with anxiety. Why is this so and how might we reduce the anxiety while increasing the rigor and credibility of teaching evaluations in adult and higher education?

First, I think much of the anxiety comes from uncertainty. Most evaluation procedures are governed by one or two dominant but implicit conceptions of teaching that are assumed appropriate for all disciplines, contexts, and learners. Evaluators seldom negotiate or even discuss the conceptions of teaching that lie behind evaluation criteria. They enter with institutional forms and procedures, interpreted through their personal (often private) conceptions of teaching and look for reflections of those conceptions in the other's teaching. Little or no effort is made to discuss what it means to "teach this subject to these people in this context." Individual beliefs about knowledge, learning, and roles for teachers are concealed behind criteria that are more technical than substantive in nature, focusing more on the 'how' of teaching than the 'why,' more on the surface appearances than the deeper structures of intentions and beliefs. Consequently, teachers are not reassured that their teaching will be patiently and deeply understood before it is judged.

Second, because the evaluation process and criteria are not usually open and negotiated, there can be a mismatch of beliefs about what should be learned, why that is important, and what role and function the teacher plays in facilitating that learning. In short, there can be a mismatch in conceptions of teaching between those doing the evaluation and the person being evaluated. This can cause incongruities to go unexamined and unspoken, as if they didn't exist. Consequently, there is an increased risk that judgments are about different conceptions of teaching (Pratt, 1992) rather than levels of effectiveness.

Third, evaluation is a process of judging -- it sets the value and appraises the worth of something. However, the process is seldom impartial or balanced in power. It involves values and vested interests, with evaluators always in a more powerful position *vis a vis* those values and interests. Evaluators are not required to reveal anything about their own teaching, including their beliefs and intentions or the results of previous evaluations they might have had. They may be good teachers; or they may not be good teachers. Nevertheless, it is their opinion and judgment about the quality of teaching that counts.

Thus, evaluation is intimately tied to implicit conceptions of teaching, that is, beliefs and commitments related to knowledge, learning, and the appropriate roles and responsibilities of a teacher. Because of that, it is also rift with possible anxiety over the judgments and decisions that will follow. If we are to reduce the anxiety, while guarding the quality and reliability of evaluations, we need to find ways to 'open' the process and allow better communication between those being evaluated and those doing the evaluating.

Assuming people know **why** an evaluation is being conducted (learners, teacher, and evaluators alike), and **how** the information from the evaluation will be used, there remains one important question that is seldom asked and which can form the basis for an open discussion of issues related to the evaluation of teaching: ***What** is to be evaluated?*

Most instruments and procedures for evaluating teaching in adult and higher education are designed for efficiency and breadth of application. They start from a conception of teaching as a generic set of skills and duties, not substantively influenced by the content, context, or the characteristics of the learners. As a result, they most often take a 'surface' approach to evaluating teaching by focusing on duty and/or technical skill.

Yet, if evaluation of teaching is to be rigorous, it must look beyond duty and beneath technique to examine the deeper belief structures associated with variations in what is taught, why it is important, and how it can best be taught to "these people, in this setting, and at this time." Evaluation must look at the substantive aspects, rather than just the most common attributes, of teaching.

Surface Approaches to Evaluation

Focus on 'duties' of a teacher

In these times of educational accountability, one approach to evaluating teaching that has gained considerable attention is what Scriven (1995) calls the 'duties-based' approach. This approach cuts across conceptions (and styles) of teaching and suggests that the best we can do, in the midst of philosophical and cultural diversity, is ask whether or not teachers are fulfilling their duties. Duties, as prescribed by those who take this view, are concerned with fair treatment of students, preparation and management of instruction, and evidence that students learn what is in the objectives when they do the set activities. This approach seems to take the position that we cannot, in any morally and intellectually honest way, acknowledge all possible forms of 'good' teaching; there are too many possible variations on the 'good' of teaching. Thus, the only recourse for evaluators of teaching is to identify those who are negligent in the performance of duty.

Some may say this is one way to be 'fair' to all conceptions of teaching; yet, I doubt that we could get teachers of philosophy, music, engineering, and automotive repair to agree on what are the most essential duties for a teacher. In fact, this approach ignores the very essence of each conception of teaching -- the belief structures and commitments -- and imposes a set of instrumental values that might be more amenable to some conceptions than others. Furthermore, while this may seem expedient and even appropriate for some institutions, it perpetuates the belief that the quality of teaching cannot, and therefore should not, be part of determining who is retained, promoted, or given merit increases. Unless we can rigorously and reliably differentiate between poor, adequate, and excellent teaching, there is no way to reward people for the quality of their teaching.

Focus on 'technical' aspects of teaching

Another popular approach to evaluating teaching within adult and higher education is the assessment of the technical aspects that cut across disciplines, contexts, and philosophical perspectives of teaching. Faculty development workshops conducted through centralized offices focus, primarily, on the technical aspects of teaching -- planning, setting objectives, giving lectures, leading discussions, asking questions, communicating under difficult circumstances, and providing feedback to learners. These are important and, though not sufficient, are a necessary part of what makes an effective teacher.

Yet, their strength is also their weakness; in their generality they lose specificity and substance. When one looks only at the technical aspects of teaching, it matters little whether one is teaching English literature, medicine, or carpentry. For example, I watched a friend in China teach for two hours in a language I didn't understand. At the end of the lesson, she asked for feedback on her teaching. Though I understood neither the language or the content, I was able to say something about the technical aspects of her teaching. I could see how often she asked questions, to whom she directed them, and what patterns of response occurred. I could see how much the 'discussion' centered around the teacher and how much of it spread horizontally to involve the students in the far corners and back of the room. I could comment on her use of the chalkboard and overhead projector, e.g., that she seemed to 'talk to the board' more than to the students. In general, I could say something (apparently) useful to her about her teaching, without having understood a word of what was said.

As common as these technical aspects are to teaching across disciplines, contexts, and even cultures, there are problems with taking this approach to evaluating teaching. First, we must agree on what technical aspects are universal and necessary to be a good teacher. 'Transmission' conceptions of teaching (e.g., Boldt, in press) suggests these should include: review and check of previous day's work, presenting new content/skills, guiding student practice, checking for student understanding, providing feedback and corrections, allowing for independent student practice, and giving weekly and monthly reviews. 'Apprenticeship' conceptions (e.g., Johnson & Pratt, in press) emphasize several key stages of learning and parallel roles for a teacher: modeling, scaffolding, fading, and coaching. 'Developmental' conceptions (e.g., Arseneau & Rodenburg, in press) emphasize a teacher's ability to diagnose current ways of understanding and then build conceptual and linguistic bridges from prior knowledge to desired ways of thinking and acting. While these are not all of the same 'technical' character implied earlier, they are, nonetheless, assumed to be universal aspects of teaching, applicable across disciplines, learners, and contexts. This assumes that the role and responsibility of a teacher to represent and transform a particular body of knowledge to a particular group of learners is the same, despite the subject or the group of learners. This not only ignores the obvious differences between disciplines and professional fields of study, it also dismisses the differences between novices and advanced learners, laboratories and lecture halls, and teaching one student *vs.* one hundred students. Even the most generic of skills must bend to the conditions of who, what, and where the teaching is being done. Thus, we might have some difficulty reaching agreement on what should constitute **the** technical aspects against which all teachers should be judged.

Clearly, one cannot be a good or effective teacher without concern for duty and the technical aspects of teaching. These are necessary and important aspects of all conceptions of teaching. But, if teaching is more than duty and skilled performance of technical aspects, how can it be evaluated? We must shift from the generic to the specific, from universal to contextual, and from technical to substantial aspects of teaching.

Deep Approaches to Evaluation[1]

The essential ingredient left out of both 'surface' approaches above is the substance of teaching, "my subject, to my students." There can be no teaching without content; something (and someone) must be taught. What teachers believe about their content -- what is included/excluded from a course, what is emphasized/minimized, and what is assessed as evidence of learning -- give some indication of the deeper structures beneath their fulfillment of duty and performance of techniques. Without an evaluation of the substantive aspects of teaching, evaluators are likely to elevate duty and technique to a distorted sense of importance and never see the qualities that often distinguish between adequate and exceptional teaching.

Where to look

Any reasonable teaching evaluation process must consider at least three substantive aspects of teaching, regardless of one's conception of teaching: *planning, implementation, and results.* Within *planning,* a teacher should be able to demonstrate intentionality and direction. Colleagues are best situated to judge intentions and directions related to both the content and the history, purposes, and policies surrounding a course or someone's teaching. Within the *implementation* of that planning, there should be evidence of a match between espoused beliefs and intentions (the basis for a conception of teaching), and the enactment of those beliefs and intentions. Both colleagues and learners should provide evidence of implementation effectiveness: colleagues can look for the fit between espoused and enacted beliefs and intentions. However, learners have a more complete picture of a person's teaching and can judge as to whether it was responsible and respectful as well as meaningful. *Results,* refer to learning outcomes. Alongside an evaluator's scrutiny of the results of formal evaluations of learning (tests, assignments, projects, etc.), there should be an assessment of *undocumented* learning. Good teaching reaches beyond assignments and tests for its impact. Indeed, for some conceptions of teaching, evidence in the form of tests and assignments may be incidental to more important outcomes of teaching, e.g., an evolving sense of identity as a member of a 'community,' or having developed more complex ways of understanding one's discipline, or feeling an increase in self-efficacy. These may be more significant kinds of learning than the formal results of examinations, yet they are virtually invisible in traditional means of learner assessment and teacher evaluation. Thus, for a broader, more encompassing estimate of the results of teaching, learners must be given the opportunity to assess their own learning as well as the relationship between their learning and someone's teaching.

Summary

The challenge of evaluating effectiveness while recognizing more than one conception of teaching is to suggest guidelines and principles are both equitable and rigorous. It would be relatively easy to offer evaluation guidelines that are equitable but which do not concern themselves with rigor. Surface approaches based on duties and/or technical aspects of teaching do this. Yet, good teaching is **substantively** rigorous; to be less than that in its evaluation is to be unfair, not in the sense of promoting one conception over another, but in not seeing what lies at the core of that which is 'uncommonly good' about truly effective teaching. To be rigorous in the evaluation of teaching requires a fundamental change in approach -- one that shifts the focus of evaluation from surface features to deeper structures, and one that asks 'why' more than 'how.' Without this crucial shift in approach, teaching will continue to be seen as a relatively mechanistic activity, devoid of its conceptual heart.

Indeed, the evaluation of teaching should not be an end in itself, but a vehicle for educational reform or improvement. To that end, those who are charged with the evaluation of teaching must recognize and acknowledge the conceptual 'lens' through which they view and interpret another's teaching. At the same time, evaluators must not succumb to the entrapments of efficiency and anonymous representation of that which is intensely personal -- one's teaching. In the end, we must be careful not to enter the realm of evaluation looking for reflections of ourselves.

The benefits, therefore, from equitable, credible, and appropriately respectful evaluation processes are legion. It simply makes sense, from the learners', the teachers', and the institutions' points of view to embrace evaluation methods that attend to substantive rather than surface aspects of teaching. With that in mind, I close with a list of nine principles which, if used, support both the reality of multiple, legitimate conceptions of teaching, and promote its continuous thoughtful improvement.

Nine Principles for Evaluating Teaching

1. *Evaluation must acknowledge and respect diversity in beliefs and intentions.*
2. *Evaluation should assess consistency between beliefs and intentions..*
3. *Evaluation should have regard for consistency between the teacher's beliefs, intentions, and actions, and cultural, social, and/or institutional expectations.*
4. *Evaluation should assess substantive aspects of teaching as well as the duties and technical aspects of teaching.*
5. *Evaluation should consider planning, implementation, and results of teaching.*
6. *Evaluation should include a variety of sources and forms of data.*
7. *Evaluation should be an open process.*
8. *Evaluation should be concerned with the improvement of teaching.*
9. *Evaluation must not succumb to forms of hegemony that knowingly or unknowingly privilege some views of knowledge, learning, and the roles of teachers over others.*

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[1] Practical examples and ideas for implementing deep approaches can be found in Pratt, D.D. (in press). Five Perspectives on Teaching in Adult & Higher Education, Malabar, FL: Krieger Publishers

LANGUAGE, POWER, AND PROGRAM PLANNING

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A recent graduate of the University of Georgia's Department of Adult Education, the author's research focus is on the structure of language use and its effects in a variety of"educativesettings. She is currently investigating electronic "deliberations."

Abstract. To explain the exercise of power through the use of language and its effects on power relations and program construction, the verbal interaction between three individuals in a program planning meeting was analyzed. Using critical language study, a type of discourse analysis, the investigation revealed that crucial planning action was situated by political relationships enacted through the use of language. Learning objectives, and adult education prescriptions and ethical imperatives took concrete shape within a socio-political context where the negotiation of power and interests was the central feature of "planning talk." e implications are that program construction is not only messy and contingent, but that it demands an awareness of many levels of meaning in discourse. Planners, therefore, must be prepared to use language skillfully and politically if they intend to act responsibly and exercise the full extent of their agency.

According to Lukes (1974), the exercise of power is related to the capacity to act. In this view, power is a social resource all individuals possess, but one which is observable only when exercised. Many critical social theorists suggest that the enactment of power, referred to as "agency," is influenced by socio-cultural norms for thinking and acting (Carnoy, 1984; Clegg, 1989; Giddens, 1971). Power relations, therefore, are examples of socio-cultural constructions which are ordered by sources of legitimated authority, and which, in turn, order acceptable ways of interacting among individuals in social situations. The authority with which individuals in any specific situation act in relation to each other, however, is determined by where the relationship falls along a continuum from asymmetrical to symmetrical (Issac, 1987). It follows that where actors are positioned is conditioned by the same situational, institutional, and societal level determinants which situate their interaction (Fairclough, 1989, 1992; Foucault, 1982, 1988; Shotter, 1984, 1993).

In a recent empirical study of program construction, Cervero and Wilson (1994) found that when planners talk, they are engaged primarily in negotiating power and interests. Thus, central determinants of who exercises power and whose interests are realized include the identity of the planners, their relationship to each other, and the organizational and planning settings. Even though planners are portrayed as actors in this view, socio-political factors condition if and how principles and prescriptions of adult education are concretely enacted. Planners, therefore, have more or less agency in shaping the programs for which they are responsible and held accountable.

At a micro level of analysis, what the Cervero-Wilson planning model implies is that the exercise of power occurs through the use language, with the consequence that power relations are enacted and programs are shaped by power and interests in planning talk. To explain the exercise of power through the use of language and its effects on power relations and the construction of an educational program, the verbatim interaction between three program planners was explored. The results of the study raise some provocative issues which are addressed in the final section of the article.

Methodology. Using a type of discourse analysis called "critical language study" (Fairclough, 1988, 1992), the linguistic structure as well as the power "in" and "behind" language were identified in the planners' interaction, which was the source of data for the study. It was assumed that the use of language in situated verbal interaction was structured by extant socio-cultural norms, or meta-level factors and frames which regulate talk and through which meaning-making occurs (Fairclough, 1989, 1992; Graddol & Swann, 1989; Lakoff, 1990). This assumption is based on the premise that language use is purposive and propositional, and involves inferential reasoning and an interpretive process (Brown, 1989; Goffman, 1974; Hinds, 1979; Renkema, 1993). The function and effects of language as well as its many levels of meaning are determined, therefore, not by lexicon or grammatical criteria but by the situated setting of the interaction (Chafe, 1979; Hymes, 1986; Jones & Jones, 1979, Ochs, 1979; Poynton, 1985).

Language structure, or the systematicity of language use, however, is critical to communicative action because it, too, provides cues which are a practical necessity for efficient interaction and shared understandings (Brown & Yule, 1983; Renkema, 1993). Meaningful verbal interaction, then, entails a certain amount of systematicity, or conventions of language use, mutually apprehensible to interaction participants (interactants). But, as efficient and effective as it is for day-to-day communication, systematicity can obscure the power in and behind language (Gumperz, 1982a, 1982b; Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). In terms of program planning, therefore, certain interests and power relations can remain hidden or unacknowledged beneath conventional practices. Thus planners may be unaware of the many levels of meaning in their talk, or they may be inured to sense-making referential criteria, or cues, embedded in language use.

According to Tannen (1993a), referential criteria which "enrich literal meanings, ground imprecise language, and provide coherence between interpretive contexts" are cognitively apprehended through the process of "framing." In this sense, a frame is a structure of expectation against which new information is measured and interpreted (Tannen, 1993a). The process of framing provides a way for interactants to make sense of talk, both socio-politically and linguistically. In critical language study, framing can also be used to illuminate the linguistic and socio-political systematicity of verbal interaction. Framing, therefore, is a particularly significant concept in analyzing and explaining communicative action -- the how, when, why, by whom, and with what effects of language use and the exercise of power in verbal interaction.

The primary frame used to analyze the data was turn-taking. Turn-taking is the principle feature of verbal interaction and is regulated by linguistic and socio-political conventions. It frames the function, meaning, and effects of language used for the purpose of controlling or facilitating the "flow" of communicative action. Thus, planner utterances were grouped according to identifiable propositions concerning a program feature to observe the way in which turn-taking occurred. Within the context of turn-taking, certain discourse strategies marked the exercise of power, thus representing the power in language. Communicative action which proved to be characteristic of the verbal transactions was marked as features of discourse structure, or the power behind language. The findings which were significant resulted from noting the way in which power was exercised through the use of language, the effects of the exercise of power in situated verbal transactions, and connections between the micro and macro linguistic and socio-political structure and use of language.

Results. It was obvious that the utterances made by the planners in the planning meetings represented the negotiation of program features which would shape the program constructed. The utterances also represented moves in verbal transactions where control of program construction was the object. Three connections were made using these frames of reference: between discourse markers (roles and strategies), between discourse markers and the exercise of power, and between the exercise of power and the power relations and program features enacted. These connections lead to three significant findings. First, the planners exercised power through the discourse roles and strategies they chose. Secondly, one of the effects of the exercise of power was the positioning of power relations. Third, the political relationships structured gave shape to the program features enacted.

The exercise of power. Within the context of a verbal transaction, the use of discourse roles and strategies, such as agenda-setter and interruption, had meaning as linguistic mechanisms. In other words, they functioned according to conventions of turn-taking, a principle tenet of interactive verbal exchange. They were part of the macro structure of language use in the verbal interaction between the three planners. However, these discourse markers also cued sense-making at another level. In terms of the exercise of power, they represented moves to focus interaction on a certain program feature as well as to position power relations to the speaker's advantage. Thus, they had situated meaning which could only be understood within the context of a transaction and which came to represent a pattern of communicative action characteristic of the micro-structure of one particular planning endeavor. As communicative moves marking the exercise of power, roles and discourse strategies also had significant effects. When they were used, power relations were positioned and the enactment of program features was affected. Discourse markers, therefore, were significant in terms of their function, situated meaning and effects, and the pattern of interaction which emerged when looking across verbal transactions.

Further analysis of the transactions revealed that each planner, regardless of status, exercised power in a decisive way -- even the planner with the least "legitimate," or conventional source of authority. For instance, an interruption evidenced the exercise of power in that it shifted the site of control in a transaction. The planner using this discourse strategy moved into the role of agenda-setter, legitimately organizing attention around a particular program feature of his or her choice. As a consequence of this action, power relations were enacted. Thus, a planner at the bottom of a conventional hierarchy of power could position him or herself at the top of the hierarchy through the use of discourse strategies. Furthermore, using interruption to facilitate response is in keeping with the principle tenets of behavior in interactive verbal communication. More specifically, it provides space for comments to be made by respondents to speaker propositions. The use of interruption as a facilitative strategy, therefore, could position a planner of low status as an adjudicator of propositions about program features offered by others of higher status.

The significance, linguistically, of context and the situatedness of both the micro meaning and effects of discourse markers is their relationship to the micro and macro systematicity of language use. Paradoxically, the structure of language use not only shapes, but is shaped by, the way language is used. This paradox is meaningful in socio-political terms because structure and language use are linked not only to the exercise of power, or agency, but also to empowerment, or enabling the capacity to act.

The effects of the exercise of power on power relations and the shape of the program constructed. Looking at the verbal transactions between the planners, it is clear that the enactment of power relations drove planning action and that the program reflected the power relations structured. What can be concluded, first, is that the exercise of power itself marked compelling interests -- reasons why the planners interacted the way they did to shape the program one way and not another. Secondly, the findings show that power relations were positioned as a consequence of the exercise of power, and, therefore, were repositioned every time power was exercised. Third, political relationships affected the enactment of program features.

The connection between the exercise of power and the enactment of program features was not as linear as the connection between the exercise of power and the enactment of political relationships, however. When an utterance proposing a program feature was made, interlocutor response determined whether the proposal was agreed to, negotiated, dropped, or deferred for re-introduction later. The process of enacting program features was determined in each verbal transaction, therefore, while the results of the enactment process were contingent on the political relationship positioned each time power was exercised.

Discussion of results. The exercise of power was determined at three levels: the situational, the institutional, and the societal. At the situational level, roles and discourse strategies conditioned planners' actions; but only to the extent that they determined the politic way in which power was exercised. The choice of discourse strategy and role could be directly linked to a planner's institutional position in that they maintained conventional asymmetrical relationships of power. In addition, the structure and use of discourse markers reflected societal level beliefs, attitudes, and values predominant in Western culture while, at the same time, providing another source of authority which legitimated the planners' communicative actions.

When looking at the effects of the exercise of power, however, it is obvious that within the macro-structure of language use shaped by extant socio-cultural norms, the planners were able to use language to reposition power relations, or empower themselves. Therefore, the power in language, evidenced by the use of discourse roles and strategies, and the power behind language, evidenced by the systematicity of language use, clarify the exact nature of the situatedness of planner agency.

Based on this premise, two issues previously unexplored in the adult education literature are raised: (1) the use of language as a planning strategy and a feature of planning action and (2) planning discourse as a frame which illuminates how power is exercise, by whom, when, for what reason, and with what effects. As regards planner agency, what is implied is that the use of language is a source of power for planners. As a factor which enables planners to influence the shape of the programs they construct, the use of language was evidenced as a significant tool.

However, as has been discussed, language has multiple meanings and referential frames, and, as the findings show, it can serve many interests. Thus, the power in and behind language can promote or obstruct the egalitarian exercise of power and a substantively democratizing interaction. Language does not create power, though; it is only a tool used by actors to enable the exercise of power and the situated repositioning of power relationships. Depending on the referential frames used to make sense of interaction, therefore, the use of language as a tool can be empowering or disempowering.

Because there are few case studies in the adult education literature which explicitly address planing in the face of power and none which address language use as a factor, the study should give practitioners new insight into the use of language and the dynamics of talk, fundamental elements of all social transactions conducted in the name of education. According to prominent sociolinguistic researcher, Robin Lakoff (1990, p. 7), "the analysis of language...is more than an academic exercise; today, more than ever, it is a survival skill." Her premise is, "language is politics, politics assigns power, power governs how people talk and how they are understood" (Lakoff, 1990, p. 7).

If systematicity, or the situated structure of language use, is a malleable feature, a vision of educational discourse emerges in which the use of language offers possibilities of resistance, reformation, and responsible action. It is assumed that a critical approach to education calls for resistance to conventional ways of interacting if learning is reformed in ways that address social inequality and if practitioners are to act responsibly. Praxis through language use, or constituting activist agency, is key to both the egalitarian exercise of power and ethical discourse in this view.

As Cervero and Wilson (1994) conclude, planners negotiate power and interests through talk and, in the process, programs are constructed. Ultimately, therefore, planners must be held accountable for the interests they represent and enact. In assessing whether or not responsible planning action has taken place, the critical practitioner might ask: Was the power in and behind language used to exercise the full extent of my agency, considering not only the immediate risks and consequences, but also the bigger socio-political issues at stake?

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A MODEL OF THE EFFECTIVE DIMENSIONS OF INTERACTIVE LEARNING SYSTEMS FOR ADULTS

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Abstract: Little agreement exists concerning the effective dimensions of interactive learning systems (ILS), including computer-based training, interactive multimedia, and the World Wide Web. This paper presents a model of interactive learning derived from research and theory in instructional technology and adult education. The model encompasses ten dimensions of interactive learning for adults, including 1) underlying psychology, 2) educational philosophy, 3) task orientation, 4) accessibility, 5) source of motivation, 6) instructor role, 7) metacognitive support, 8) interaction control, 9) cultural sensitivity, and 10) collaborative learning. Relationships among these ten dimensions and the principles of adult learning theory are explained, and recommendations for how these dimensions can be used for the design, implementation, and evaluation of ILS are made.

Introduction: Interactive learning systems (including computer-based training, interactive multimedia, and the World Wide Web) have attracted the attention of institutions and people around the world, including that of adult educators. Despite all the attention (and in a few places, substantial investments of financial, human, and temporal resources), results have often been disappointing. In fact, little agreement exists concerning the effective dimensions of interactive learning that should be included in these systems. This paper presents a model of interactive learning based upon extensive research in instructional technology and related fields (e.g., cognitive science) and the principles of adult learning theory.

In the *Handbook of Adult and Continuing Education*, Lewis (1989) identifies interactivity as one of the primary attributes that attract adults to computer-based learning systems. She describes the interactive attribute as follows:

> Above all, computers are personal. They provide spontaneous access on an individualized basis to meet the needs of an increasingly diverse adult population. Learners can proceed at their own pace, skip ahead, or review. Particularly advantageous for undereducated, nontraditional, or reentry students, computers allow individuals to work in a risk-free environment where they can avoid embarrassment, track their own progress, and engage in drill and practice until they achieve competence. As adults work to master ambiguous situations, computers allow individuals to express their curiosity and demonstrate their creativity. p. 614

Although there is merit in Lewis' analysis of why interactive learning systems (ILS) appeal to adult learners, we believe a richer analysis of the critical dimensions of interactive learning is needed to guide program development, implementation, and evaluation. The proposed model includes ten effective dimensions of interactive learning for adults, including 1) underlying psychology, 2) educational philosophy, 3) task orientation, 4) accessibility, 5) source of motivation, 6) instructor role, 7) metacognitive support, 8) interaction control, 9) cultural sensitivity, and 10) collaborative learning. The following set of ten dimensions is by no means exhaustive, and we welcome enhancements to strengthen its utility as a tool for revealing the powers and limitations of ILS. Nonetheless, this model is intended to address a fundamental problem among adult educators, i.e., the failure to understand that what is really unique about ILS is not its mix of media features such as text, graphics, sound, animation, and/or video, but the pedagogical and andragogical dimensions that ILS can be designed to deliver. After all, ILS are only vehicles for these dimensions. Although ILS may be more efficient or less costly than other vehicles (e.g., classroom lectures), it is the learning dimensions that determine their ultimate effectiveness and worth (Clark, 1994).

Ten Dimensions: Each of the ten dimensions in this model can be conceived as a two-ended continuum with opposite values at either end. For example, the dimension of "collaborative learning" has "unsupported" (the ILS does not support collaboration) at one end and "integral" (collaborative learning is essential to the ILS) at the other. There is an inherent oversimplification in any model based upon two-ended dimensions. The world is rarely dichotomous and there is much more complexity involved in adult learning than any one of these dimensions represents. However, the individual dimensions themselves are not as important as the patterns or arrays across the ten dimensions that are present in different forms or examples of ILS.

Underlying Psychology: The design of ILS should be based upon a foundation of educational psychology. Although there are many theories about learning, the two that dominate the design of ILS are behavioral and cognitive psychology. These two psychological theories are often juxtaposed, and our "underlying psychology" dimension has behavioral psychology at one end of the continuum and cognitive psychology at the other. Anyone familiar with ILS in adult basic education can attest that behavioral psychology continues to underlie most ILS. According to behaviorists, the critical factors in learning are not internal states, but observable behavior, and instruction involves shaping desirable behaviors through the arrangement of stimuli, responses, feedback, and reinforcement. A stimulus is provided, often in the form of a short presentation of content. Next, a response is demanded, often via a question. Feedback is given as to the accuracy of the response, and positive reinforcement is given for accurate responses. Inaccurate responses result in a repetition of the original stimulus or a modified (often simpler) version of it, and the cycle begins again. Cognitive psychologists, by contrast, place more emphasis on internal mental states than on behavior. A cognitive taxonomy of internal learning states includes simple propositions, schema, rules, general rules, skills, general skills, automatic skills, and mental models (Kyllonen & Shute, 1989). Cognitivists claim that a variety of learning strategies, including memorization, direct instruction, deduction, drill and practice, and induction, are required in ILS depending upon the type of knowledge to be constructed by the learner.

Educational Philosophy: Although it rages at other levels of education, the debate between instructivist and constructivist approaches to teaching and learning is largely absent in the literature of adult education. Perhaps this is because a basic tenet of adult education involves the recognition that each person brings a unique set of prior experiences, knowledge, and skills to any given learning opportunity. Still, many ILS in adult education are grounded in a fundamentally instructivist or tutorial structure rather than a constructivist or tool approach. Thus, our "educational philosophy" dimension ranges from a strict instructivist structure to a radical constructivist one. Instructivists stress the importance of objectives that exist apart from the learner. Once objectives are identified, they are sequenced into learning hierarchies, generally representing a progression from lower to higher order learning. Direct instruction is designed to address each of the objectives in the hierarchy employing strategies derived from behavioral psychology. Little emphasis is put on the learner per se who is viewed as a passive recipient of instruction. Learners are treated as empty vessels to be filled with learning. Instructivists espouse an objectivist epistemology that defines knowledge as separate from knowing. They believe that reality exists regardless of the existence of sentient beings, humans acquire knowledge about this reality in an objective manner through the senses, learning consists of acquiring truth, and it can be measured precisely with tests. By contrast, constructivists emphasize the primacy of the learner's intentions, experience, and cognitive strategies. According to constructivists, learners construct different cognitive structures based upon their previous knowledge. A goal in a constructivist ILS is assuring that the learning environment is as rich and diverse as possible. Instead of an empty vessel, the learner is regarded as an individual replete with pre-existing knowledge, aptitudes, motivations, and other characteristics that are difficult to assess, much less accommodate. Constructivists argue for replacing direct instruction with tasks to be accomplished or problems to be solved that have personal relevance for learners. With regard to epistemology, constructivists believe that knowledge does not exist outside the minds of human beings and that what we know of "reality" is individually and socially constructed based on prior experience. Rather than truth, constructivist learning consists of acquiring viable strategies that meet one's objectives, and at best, learning can be estimated only through observation and dialogue. A constructivist structure overlaps significantly with the tenets of adult learning theory (Brookfield, 1989).

Task Orientation: A basic tenet of adult learning theory is that the context of learning is more important to adults than to younger learners (Beder, 1989). Many ILS in adult basic education employ tasks that are largely academic, but ILS can be designed to be sharply focused on authentic tasks relevant to adults. Our "task orientation" dimension has academic tasks at one end of the continuum and authentic tasks at the other. Consider the design of an interactive multimedia program designed for adult basic education. An academic design would depend heavily on having the learners complete traditional academic exercises such as diagramming sentences. By contrast, an authentic design would engage the adult learners in some practical activity such as preparing job applications and situate practice and feedback within realistic scenarios. A major concern in adult education and training is the degree to which classroom learning transfers to "real life." Cognitive learning theory indicates that the way in which knowledge, skills, and attitudes are initially learned plays a major role in the degree to which these abilities can be used in other contexts. If knowledge, skills, and attitudes are learned in a context of use, they will be used in that and similar contexts. In academic ILS, it is largely left up to the student to generate connections between conditions (e.g., a problem) and actions (e.g. the use of knowledge as a tool to solve the problem). There is ample evidence that students who are quite adept at "regurgitating" memorized information rarely retrieve that same information when confronted with novel conditions that warrant its application. ILS can present a challenging task or problem that will serve as the focus for the learner's efforts to construct new knowledge. Brookfield (1987) indicates that adult educators often overlook the importance of challenges to adult learners. ILS can be designed to present adult learners with authentic and challenging opportunities to learn.

Accessibility: Contemporary ILS use powerful microcomputers loaded with what Lewis (1989) calls "high tech peripherals" such as videodisc players and touch-sensitive screens. While ILS may make effective use of these peripherals, the added expense and complexity of these hardware systems means that they are often located in a fixed place such as a computer lab on the campus of a community college. By contrast, the rapid growth of the Internet and the high bandwidth capabilities of the World Wide Web (WWW) mean that ILS can be designed for delivery anytime, anywhere to anyone with a personal computer and a high-speed modem. Our "accessibility" dimension is a continuum with fixed accessibility with respect to place and time on one end and open accessibility on the other. Spear and Mocker (1989) identify the ubiquitous accessibility of information via powerful technologies as a hallmark of the future of adult education. Already, educators are experimenting with the delivery of formal and informal learning opportunities via the WWW. We predict that ILS will be integrated increasingly with the tools of the Information Age so that the need for this dimension in our model will be diminished in the future.

Source of Motivation: Motivation is a primary factor in teaching and learning. Intrinsic motivation has been held forth as the "Holy Grail" to which all ILS should aspire. Our “source of motivation” dimension ranges from extrinsic (i.e., outside the learning environment) to intrinsic (i.e., integral to the learning environment). Intrinsically motivating instruction is very elusive regardless of the delivery system, but virtually every new technology to come along promises to be more motivating than any that have come before. For example, interactive multimedia is supposed to motivate learners automatically, simply because of the integration of music, voice, still pictures, text, animation, motion video, and a user-friendly interface on a computer screen. Actually, studies indicate that learners soon tire of these media elements and that motivational aspects must be consciously designed into multimedia just as rigorously as any other pedagogical dimensions (Reeves, 1993a). Although the ideal of “lifelong learning” is fundamental to adult education (Beder, 1989), the motivation to pursue adult learning opportunities is more often driven by economic and social factors than those of personal development. The state-of-the-art of ILS indicates that extrinsic motivation remains a critical factor in many adult education contexts.

Instructor Role: ILS can be designed to support different roles for teachers. Some programs are designed to support the traditional didactic role of the instructor as "the teacher." Others are designed to place teachers or trainers in the role of a "facilitator." Our “instructor role” continuum ranges from didactic to facilitative. A quarter century ago, Carroll (1968) told us that "By far the largest amount of teaching activity in educational settings involves telling things to students..." (p. 4). More recent analyses of teaching in schools as well as adult education contexts indicate that little has changed since then. However, there is much talk about a shift in the instructor's role from a didactic one to that of a facilitator. Ironically, most instructional technology research is focused on how the computer can be used to present information and judge learner input (neither of which computers do well) while asking learners to memorize information and later recall it on tests (which computers do with far greater speed and accuracy than humans). We would do better to assign cognitive responsibility to the part of the learning system that does it best. The learner should be responsible for recognizing and judging patterns of information, organizing it, constructing alternative perspectives, and representing it in meaningful ways, while the computer should perform calculations, store information, and retrieve it upon the learner's command. The instructor can be a guide, mentor, coach, and collaborator in this knowledge construction process.

Metacognitive Support: Metacognition refers to a learner's awareness of objectives, ability to plan and evaluate learning strategies, and capacity to monitor progress and adjust learning behaviors to accommodate needs (Flavell, 1979). In short, metacognitive skills are the skills one has in learning to learn. Our “metacognitive support” dimension has unsupported at one end of the continuum and integrated at the other. An ILS can be designed to challenge a learner to solve a complex problem such as troubleshooting an electrical short in a circuit board. A learner using an ILS with integrated metacognitive support would be able to request the system to recapitulate his/her troubleshooting strategies at any point in the problem-solving process. The research studies reported in Lajoie and Derry (1993) indicate that much progress remains to be made before ILS include sophisticated metacognitive support. The unique nature of metacognitive support appropriate for adults is an area in need of much research.

Interaction Control: Interaction control is a heavily researched dimension of ILS. Our “interaction control” dimension ranges from complete program control to unrestricted learner control. Program control is sometimes desirable, especially if an “intelligent” system has been designed to diagnose individual differences in learner needs and capabilities and accommodate them accordingly. Unfortunately, the research foundation for such individualization is weak. Learner control refers to the options in ILS that allow learners to make decisions about what sections to study and/or what paths to follow through interactive material. The popular wisdom is that learner control makes ILS more effective by individualizing instruction and making it more motivating, but there is insufficient research to back up this approach (Reeves, 1993b).

Nonetheless, given the strong desire most adults have for autonomy in learning contexts (Beder, 1989), learner control appears to be the preferred approach to interaction control in ILS designed for adult learners.

Cultural Sensitivity: All instructional systems have cultural elements. For example, whereas constructivist pedagogy advocates questioning on the part of learners, "why?" questions may be inappropriate in some cultures. Although ILS cannot be designed to adapt to every cultural norm, they should be designed to be as culturally sensitive as possible. Our "cultural sensitivity" dimension ranges from insensitive to respectful. Few ILS have been developed in which cultural sensitivity is integral to their design, whereas more than a few are culturally insensitive. For example, ILS often make use of icons such as a pointing hand to indicate direction. In certain African cultures, such an icon would violate a strong cultural taboo by representing a dismembered body part. It is difficult to describe what comprehensively culturally sensitive ILS would be like, but at the very least they should accommodate diverse ethnic and cultural backgrounds among the learners expected to use them. For example, actors used in multimedia programs for adult basic education should reflect the diversity in the places where these programs will be used.

Collaborative Learning: ILS can be designed to thwart or promote collaborative learning. Some ILS programs require cooperative learning whereas others make no provision for its support. Our "collaborative learning" dimension ranges from a complete lack of support for collaboration to the inclusion of collaborative learning as an integral feature. Cooperative and collaborative learning refer to instructional methods in which learners work together in pairs or small groups to accomplish shared goals. When ILS are structured to allow cooperative learning, learners can benefit both instructionally and socially. Early conceptions of ILS often envisioned one adult learner per computer, but today adult educators recognize that two adults working together through an interactive program often accomplish more than a "lonely learner."

Applying the Model: This model has applications as a tool to enhance the design, implementation, and evaluation of ILS in adult education. It provides a starting point for communication among instructional designers, administrators, adult educators, and adult learners about the potential and limits of ILS. Although space constraints do not permit full explication of all these applications, we can describe one possible use of the model as a tool to help instructional designers, adult educators, and others differentiate between different examples of ILS designed for adult learners. Consider two different ILS. The first one (ILS-A) has been developed for adult basic education, and the second (ILS-B) is intended for continuing medical education for adult health practitioners.

ILS-A was designed by a Fortune 500 corporation to teach basic reading, writing, and computation skills to adults. Most of its instructional design depends upon direct tutoring and drill-and-practice using principles of behavioral psychology to stimulate and reinforce learning. Most of the instructional interactions in ILS-A involve completing academic tasks that are targeted for direct instruction and measured with standardized test items. Its accessibility is limited to specific labs in adult learning centers. An elaborate set of incentives and rewards supports extrinsic motivation. The instructor's role is primarily that of a coach because the computer has assumed the major share of direct teaching. ILS-A attempts to accommodate individual differences by providing multiple instructional sequences and allowing students to proceed at their own pace, but most other factors are under program control. Adults progress through ILS-A in pairs to allow some cooperative learning. No specific attention has been paid to cultural issues in the design of this adult basic education program.

By contrast, ILS-B is a constructivist program about HIV/AIDS for adult healthcare practitioners available on the WWW. Based upon the cognitive learning theory known as "situated" cognition (Brown, Collins, & Duguid, 1989), an elaborate scenario is the focus of learner activity. There are no right answers to solving the problems presented in the scenario. Instructors (called mentors) are true collaborators in the intrinsically motivating quest to solve authentic tasks. This continuing medical education program is accessible to anyone with WWW access. ILS-B does not include any unique metacognitive support, but it provides for high levels of learner control and collaborative learning. Finally, the designers of ILS-B have consciously attempted to make the program reflect the multicultural population of the healthcare personnel who will use it.

Analysis of these two ILS in reference to the ten dimensions will allow designers, implementers, and evaluators to clarify the effective dimensions of each program. This process will enhance their ability to create their own design specifications for an ILS that includes the exact mix of effective dimensions they wish the new program to deliver.

Conclusion: Ever since the introduction of microcomputers and related technologies, experts have predicted that ILS would revolutionize instruction and dramatically improve learning in adult education. In reality, none of these approaches has lived up to its promise. Part of the failure of these innovations can be traced to misunderstanding the basic dimensions that ILS can and cannot accommodate. Our model provides a tool for improving communications and understanding which will result in better planning, development, and evaluation in the quest to improve adult education through interactive learning.

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LEARNING AND NEW VOICES: LESBIAN DEVELOPMENT AND THE IMPLICATIONS FOR ADULT EDUCATION

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Abstract. This study contributes to the understanding of lesbians, an oppressed group of people, from their perspective. Incorporating the unique life experiences of lesbians adds value to the research base of the field. This type of research is necessary to give "voice" to diverse groups in theory building and to reveal the "myths" presented in the adult education literature.

Introduction

"A word is dead when it is said, some say. I say it just begins to live that day." Emily Dickinson's simple but effective quote implies that words and resulting images and labels are powerful. Relatedly, the literature supports that the term lesbian conjures up stereotypical negative images such as deviant and abnormal. Predictably, but unfortunately, the word lesbian conjures up negative images and feelings by implying the undermining of the advantages and privileges of the dominant group. Much like a kaleidoscope, stereotypes of lesbians have been an ever changing pattern depending upon the time and place in history.

Additionally, literature reflects the difficulty in defining lesbian identity. Brown's (1994) definition is noted because of its broad and flexible nature. Brown (1994) defines lesbian identity as primarily a self-ascribed definition held by a woman over time and across situations as having primary sexual, affectional, and relational ties to other women. This identity may or may not be congruent with overt behavior at any point during the life span and the variables comprising this definition may come and go as prominent as life circumstances change. Central to this definition is that the lesbian sees her relationships and connections to women as primary, whether acted upon or not, and identifies herself as outside the sexual mainstream.

Lesbian identity means one has a minority sexual identity and recognizes through the use of language or symbolic expressions that her sexual orientation sets her apart from the sexual mainstream, even though she may not use the term "lesbian". The need for a strict well prescribed definition reflects the notion of dichotomous thinking exemplified by white Eurocentric cultural philosophies; the need for separate and mutually exclusive categories of sexual orientation.

While there is virtually no literature that deals with gay and lesbian issues in adult and higher education context, Tisdell and Taylor (1995) and Hill (1994) focused broadly on gay men and lesbians. This paper builds on these works.

Lesbian developmental theories

There have been several models of identity development proposed by Cass (1979), Chapman and Brannock (1987), McCarn and Fassinger (1990), and Sophie (1986). Most of these models are developmental and include a sequence of events, thoughts, experiences, feelings, or behaviors that occur over time. The key factor in each model is the "coming out" process which means the process of identifying, acknowledging, and disclosing one's sexual orientation. However, the time to complete this process can vary greatly. Some people go through this process quickly whereas others can take several years.

There is variation in the array of models. Cass' model consists of six detailed stages that include identity confusion, identity comparison, identity tolerance, identity acceptance, identity pride, and identity synthesis. At the other end of the spectrum is a model by Schneider which entails two factors. Identity shifts from heterosexual to lesbian, gay, or bisexual and the view of this new identity shifts from negative to positive. Other models, like McCarn and Fassinger's are not so linear and espouse a recycling process through stages or an oscillation between stages (Buhrke & Stabb, 1995).

Sophie's (1986) model is based on a synthesis of six prior models of lesbian and gay identity. Her model has four stages: (a) awareness of homosexual feelings, (b) testing and exploration, (c) identity acceptance, and (d) identity integration. Unlike women in the early stages of lesbian identity linear models are inadequate to portray women in later stages of lesbian identity. Sophie (1986) posits that the assumption of linearity results in the failure of stage theories to account for the diversity of experience of participants. The process of lesbian identity development must be viewed in the context of social and historical conditions.

Chapman and Brannock (1987) describe a five-stage process by which lesbians come to self-label (vs. come to terms with attraction to same sex people as in other models). The stages are: (a) same-sex orientation, (b) incongruence, (c) self-questioning and exploration, (d) identification, and (e) choice of lifestyle. The process of self-labeling varies considerably among lesbians. Chapman and Brannock propose that lesbian identity awareness is the first step in the self-labeling process resulting from a recognition of "differences" between one's own feelings/orientation and those of the heterosexual environment. Testing of this model indicated heterosexual involvements as part of the self-questioning and exploration behaviors.

Faderman's (1984) model of lesbian development roots lesbianism directly within the process of feminist identity development. Faderman (1984), proposes the existence of "new gay lesbians'" who begin with a critique of social norms (including heterosexuality) which they then internalize into a total feminist commitment to women, which includes a choice of lesbianism. This model places the concepts into a context rather than just innate factors.

McCarn and Fassinger (1990) argue that none of the lesbian identity models efficiently take environmental context into account. Many of the gay/lesbian models are built from models of Black racial and political consciousness and thus imply that fully integrated and mature identity entails full public disclosure and political activism. This approach ignores the cultural location, life choices, and environmental constraints of lesbians diverse in age, historical context, geographic location, race and ethnicity, class, religion, and other forms of diversity that certainly impact lesbian development. Failing to consider the environmental context results in blaming the individual for his or her inability to accept an oppressed identity (McCarn & Fassinger, 1990).

McCarn and Fassinger's model presenting two parallel processes deals with weaknesses in previous models. The two processes are an individual sexual identity process involving the awareness and acceptance of same sex erotic and lifestyle preferences and a group membership identity process involving the confrontation of oppression and the acceptance of one's status as a member of an oppressed group. The key point in this model is that one's individual sense of self can be separated from the extent that one identifies with or publicly participates in lesbian culture. This model implies more flexibility by its use of phases rather than stages. The phases include (a) awareness, (b) exploration, (c) deepening and commitment, and (e) internalization and synthesis. This model does not assume disclosure behaviors are necessary for developmental progression, but rather it is the process of resolving these questions that exemplifies maturity. The model also assumes a reciprocal and catalytic relationship between the two processes of individual sexual identity and group identification (McCarn & Fassinger, 1990).

Feminist perspectives

Feminist theory generates knowledge about women's lives to make them visible and to help dispel myths of women's existence. Espousing a feminist lens means being critical of all assumptions, values and definitions. Feminist theory provides a way for women to be central and subjects of study; subject matter is placed in a cultural context. This approach uses lesbian voices as the means to understand lesbian identity development. Issues of socialization and other assumptions are revealed in such a critical perspective.

According to Reinharz (1992), feminist research reveals "social truths" and provides an understanding of the relations between power, gender, class, race, age, ethnicity, disability, and sexual orientation. Reinharz states that feminism means dissatisfaction with the status quo and a commitment to work for change.

Zita (1994) states that feminist writings have argued that it makes a difference as to who says what, when, and to whom. Theories primarily built on the experiences of white, heterosexual, economically and educationally privileged men distort and erase the experiences of those who are marginalized by "knowledge-seeking experts." Rich (1986) observes that, "Lesbians have historically been deprived of a political existence through 'inclusion' as a female version of male homosexuality. To equate lesbian existence with male homosexuality because each is stigmatized is to erase female reality once again" (p.100). Kitzinger (1990) and Rich (1986), purport that universities as ideological and cultural heterosexual patriarchal institutions, create a set of circumstances that in effect assume control over the "private" lives of lesbian and gay persons. Therefore, lesbians and gays experience "public" academic life in very different ways than those with heterosexual privilege.

Benismon (1992) speaks to the importance of a feminist and, more importantly, a lesbian lens to understand lesbians. Standpoint feminist epistemology provides the interpretive framework from within which to formulate a lesbian centered reality that is in opposition to the patriarchal and heterosexual construction of the academy. The tenet of standpoint feminist epistemology is that knowledge is socially situated and that in order to interpret and understand the situation of the particular "other" it has to start from their lives. Standpoint feminist epistemology encourages the movement away from adding the "other" to previously existing frameworks and moves toward knowledge grounded on experience of these "others". This approach reveals how the vision of the dominant heterosexual class structures the public sphere in ways that can be oppressive for lesbians. Lesbian standpoint theory illustrates how institutional context that is ruled by discourse rendering lesbians invisible is a denial of female agency and disempowering to all women. A lesbian standpoint situates knowledge in the experience of women who are lesbians. This debunks the thought that all women are alike irrespective of sexual orientation, class, race, or disability. Viewing an institution from a lesbian perspective helps to present a different perspective and understanding of the situation. This view has the capacity to reveal how the dominant vision (heterosexual male) disadvantages marginal groups including lesbians.

Significance to the field of adult and higher education

Research on lesbians is problematic to date. Some of the limitations include the following: 1) majority of studies of lesbian development have used gay men as comparisons rather than other women, 2) most studies are done with white, middle class, young, able bodied women or men as subjects and 3) much research in adult education has a heterocentric bias in its research methods, topic selection, sample selection, and reporting of results.

Homophobia is a major aspect affecting lesbian, gay, and bisexual individuals. Weinberg defines homophobia as the irrational fear and hatred of lesbian, gay, and bisexual people (Buhrke & Stabb, 1995). Institutional homophobia means discrimination based on sexual orientation by government, business, educational institutions, and other organizations. Cultural homophobia is defined as the social norms existing in society which oppress lesbians, gays, and bisexuals.

Heterosexism is the assumption or belief that heterosexuality is the only acceptable or viable life option (Blumenfeld & Raymond, 1988). The lesbian, gay, and bisexual experience is seen as inferior (Iasenza, 1989) and heterosexuality is viewed as natural and normal (Fassinger, 1995). Heterosexism is not as blatant as homophobia. It is manifested in lack of knowledge, legal institutionalization, bias in research, and language. Heterosexuality is the silent term. The heterosexual assumption in educational institutions means that lesbians are seen as isolated examples which perpetuates silence in individuals. It is often what is left unsaid that is more telling of what is important and powerful rather than what is said. As reflected by O'Barr (1994), "putting up a mirror to my own experiences taught me how to construct windows onto the experiences of others whose backgrounds and needs differed from my own" (p. 21). Similarly, by incorporating reentry women, educational institutions have had to confront the limitations of their traditional understanding of education. O'Barr (1994) concludes that women have been changing for over two decades to fit into the system of higher education; it is now the responsibility of educational institutions to make changes

The challenge in adult and higher education is to carefully listen and to hear different voices rather than just the voices of the chosen few. Incorporating this multitude of voices into institutional actions is a way to create change. Lesbian voices bring to campus a myriad of opinions representing the society at large. Drawing upon the analogy of the kaleidoscope gives vision to the idea of silenced voices. Just as one twist of the kaleidoscope changes the image, one twist of thought can change the perspective on issues. The images in the kaleidoscope present continuing changes. What an individual views at one point in time will not be the same image when he or she looks a second time. This is likened to the power of education. When one's eyes become "opened" per se, to knowledge and ideas, there is no shutting them again. This progression of thought if embraced and fostered can be the impetus for change within educational institutions. Breaking the status quo, that is, the traditional, conventional way of doing business is a formidable task. However, it remains vital to the future of higher education that other voices are included. Hiring, promoting, and affirming a diverse workforce and student body is no longer just the "right thing to do," but it is necessary for economic survival. In order to be competitive we need to be educating our faculty, staff, and students by equipping them with the skills necessary to interact and relate to a diverse world.

Knowledge and identity are partial and constructed subject to multiple interpretations and reconfiguration. The present culture of domination reinforces certain values, beliefs, and assumptions. Eurocentric heterosexist values perpetuate the quest for sameness while rendering difference inconsequential. It is not enough for individuals to change, changes must occur within the ideologies of the organization which have historically silenced some individuals while giving voice to others.

Extending the frontier of knowing to include matters historically silenced within institutions of higher education will alter academia. McNaron (1994) suggests some strategies to resist those opposed to this important scholarship. These strategies include (a) seeking colleagues in other departments with whom to form alliances to gain support for lesbian related matters, (b) reciprocate this support to these departments, (c) speak honestly with students about the false and repressive arguments against feminist and multiculturalist work, (d) refuse to recede into anyone's closet. In other words, speaking the "L" word and sharing with others how a lesbian lens on literature will enrich and clarify works and theories previously studied, and (e) mentoring lesbian students and junior faculty.

This study contributes to the understanding of a diverse and oppressed group of persons from their perspective. Acknowledging and embracing the unique life experiences of lesbians adds value to the research base of the field. Furthermore, this research provides a deeper and richer meaning to the experiential component of adult education. This type of critical research reveals the "untruths" presented in the adult education literature. Such information is necessary to assist the field in including diverse groups and diverse "voices" in theory building.

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Ingredients for College Success: Looking Through the Eyes of African American Adults

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Abstract Much has been written about adult students in higher education and an increasing amount of research has focused on this population, yet the minority adult is rarely visible. This research aimed to begin to address this gap in knowledge by talking to minority adults themselves. How do minority adults studying in higher education characterize their successful learning experiences?

Theoretical Framework and Related Literature

This study was based on a phenomenological orientation. It sought to gain an understanding of the personal meanings offered by minority adult themselves, in this case African American adults, in explaining their own successful experiences in higher education. No arbitrary or predetermined meaning was placed on what it means to be successful, although interviewed students were currently actively enrolled and indicated their self-concept as successful learners by volunteering to participate in the study.

Literature related to minority students in higher education was reviewed (Fleming, 1984; Lang & Ford; Olivas, 1986). The researcher was already familiar with a large body of research on adult learners in higher education (Kasworm, 1990; Spanard, 1990; Schlossberg, Lynch and Chickering, 1989). Segments of each of these literatures deals with identifying factors associated with academic success (Bean & Metzner, 1985; Castle, 1993; Jones, 1990; Kraemer, 1993; Levin & Levin) and, in particular with the teaching-learning transaction (Donaldson, Flannery, & Ross-Gordon, 1993; Trujillo, 1986). Yet, no suitable framework was discovered for understanding the factors associated with college success for minority adults.

Methods and Data Source

Face-to-face individual interviews were conducted with nineteen Black adults 24 years of age and older. Interviews ranged in length from just under one hour to nearly two hours; most lasted 75 to 90 minutes. The open-ended interviews were semi-structured in type, with an interview guide utilized to provide for consistency in questioning regarding several key areas, while preserving the flexibility to re-word and re-order questions or add additional probes as appropriate. Verbatim transcripts were inductively analyzed. Portions of the data were coded by the second interviewer as a check on dependability of findings. Member checks were conducted to enhance the validity of the study.

The students interviewed all attended a large northeastern university where minority students represent a small proportion of the student body. The study began at an upper division campus with an enrollment of 2250 undergraduate students. Adult students comprise 57% of the student body at that campus, African American students comprise 4%. The study was expanded to include students at the main campus where adults comprise only 9% of the 31,000 undergraduate students and 5% of students are African American. Participants ranged in age from 24 to 46, with a mean age of 30.3 and a median of 32. Females comprised 58% of the interview sample.

Findings

The findings for the project are reported in terms of several major themes. Selected quotes from individual students are used to support the interpretations offered.

I Know Where I'm Headed Now

The most frequently mentioned reasons for stopping studies earlier related to immaturity, uncertainty with regard to direction, or a desire to get out and experience the world independently. For instance, Kathy said her main reason for stopping college after 1 1/2 years was "because then I didn't know what I wanted to do." She worked and traveled for ten years before returning. Richard, likewise reported: "I really wasn't ready for school. I needed to grow a little." Julie, noted "I didn't know who or what I wanted to be." She expressed her doubts that young people should be entering college right after high school.

At the time of the interviews, on the other hand, these adults seemed to have a clear sense of goals for the future. All identified an intended major and clearly articulated reasons for choosing that major. Nearly 80% are considering going on to graduate or professional school. After periods of time ranging from one year to twenty-eight years, these students returned to college strongly motivated to make changes in their lives. Although some also reported personal change events (e.g. divorce, job disability, relocation) as having a role in their decision to return to school, responses more consistently reflected a desire to improve their lives, either in terms of increasing job options or otherwise improving life status.

> *Well, I think I wanted to have the opportunity... most of the jobs that I saw wanted you to have a college degree .... I wanted to have the opportunity to be more mobile and to move into various different areas that required you to have a degree. (Cyndy)*

Margaret's response, on the other hand, reflects the greater emphasis placed by some on personal growth and sense of achievement through education. She contrasted her own passion for learning with her mother's disinterest in education.

> *She, education for her was like poison and she made that clear. But I wanted something else. I looked at her and said, I want to do the opposite of what she did. And my aunt and everyone else in the family, their thing is education is food, you know. The same way you have to eat to keep yourself sustained is the same way you have to educate yourself to socially sustain yourself.*

Although most of the dimensions discussed as motives or anticipated benefits of the degree focused on personal improvement in the intellectual and career domains, consistent with other research on adult students (Kasworm, 1990; Spanard, 1990), a less dominant but noteworthy trend in the data reflected the interest of many (42%) in socially - conscious purposes for higher education. William described his reasons for return by saying: "What I really want to do is help somebody else. You know, how could I help somebody else if I don't have the tools, you know, valuable to me that I can help them?"

Meaningful Learning Has Real World Relevance

A second prominent theme surfacing in the interviews relates to the participants' views of significant learning. When asked to describe the most significant learning they had experienced as adults, the majority described learning that took place outside the classroom. These responses were divided among those focused on enhanced self-understanding, learning through and about family relationships, and learning about other people, society and culture.

> *I would say the most, and this is so broad, but my most [significant] I think is motherhood. That overrides everything. Every day I'm learning to be a better parent, every solitary day. And my son is teaching me all of these really neat things. And that is the one thing. If my son was never born I would be a completely different person. I know that. (Tania)*

Although only a few of the participants' instances of their most significant learning occurred in conjunction with course-related experiences, they were also asked to describe what they recalled about the class in which they learned the most. The most frequently occurring categories of response focused directly on the content of the class. At least two dimensions of such memorable content can be distinguished. First, the learning was described as meaningful and relevant, either for understanding one's own past experience, relating to a current or future job role, or understanding society.

> *I guess it was the material which enabled me to look at problems in our society, you know, and actually find out where the root causes of our problems are at and, and things we can do in order to make changes in our society. It was just very helpful, I mean, and that kind of extends beyond just the class, you know. It helped me look at our relationships, race relations on campus, cultural differences, how the suburbs are and people in the suburbs are compared to like people living in the city and all kinds of things. (Richard)*

Secondly, at least half the courses recalled as significant had a multicultural component or focus.

A Formula for Success: People Make the Difference

Participants' discussions of factors contributing to their success as students reveal three components, each mentioned with nearly equal frequency and rarely with just one component present. Each can be seen as relating to the role of people -- the student himself or herself, individuals outside the institution (family, friends and employers), and individuals within the institution (faculty and staff).

> *I will say her name. ______ in Counseling Services has been wonderful. I keep saying, and I've told her many times I don't know what I would have done without her. And I felt that there were too many, there were so many other responsibilities that were stacked on top of them, you know, on top of one another. ... And she enabled me to kind of sort everything out and deal with the pain. (Cyndy)*

When asked to rank a specific list of seven factors seen as potential influences on student success, the focus shifted more directly to the role of the learner and teacher. Ranked number one in importance to their success with nearly equal frequency were effective teaching (42%) and effective study skills and strategies (37%). Those who ranked teaching effectiveness highest tended to stress the importance of the teacher helping students understand the content in a way that might not be possible through their independent study alone. Art explained

> *But yeah, I definitely think effective teaching is the first choice. I mean, without that, I mean, you're definitely going down the wrong path from the start. That's like the foundation. Once you have that good teaching. I mean a teacher that can teach you something. Teach it in a clear, precise manner so that you can grasp it and understand it and I think everything, well some of the things will fall right into place after that.*

In contrast, Jim and others saw effective study skills and strategies as the key to success.

> *I think it's first because that's the basis of everything. I mean, if you have a good structure and you have a good idea how to put things in a manageable form you can go a long way.... You have to have that. I don't care how good your teacher is, if you don't know how to relate it to yourself, and do the things you need to do to learn the materials and master it you're in trouble.*

Self-Efficacy as Learners

Other interview items revealed even more explicitly student's conceptions of themselves as key agents in their own success, even in the face of setbacks and with realization of their imperfections. When asked to describe themselves as students, most expressed a generally positive self-concept or talked about the behaviors they engaged in an effort to be a good student.

> *I would say that I'm a serious student. I believe very critically in attacking ideas and the expression of ideas and I take the whole educational process to heart. I am very serious. (Cyndy)*

Not all focused exclusively on their positive tendencies as a student. Nearly half also admitted to flaws or weaknesses as a student, while, on balance seeing themselves as good students.

> *I'm not going to lie to you. It's hard for me to study. I don't have the time. But I would just say I'm happy being a student. I try to do the best work. I do the best I can. But I can do better. I'll put it that way. (William)*

Students were unanimously able to describe steps they took to work toward being successful students. A dominant theme for more than half related to setting goals and priorities and managing time accordingly. For some this prioritization involves balancing time for school and studying against time for family and work, as illustrated in the following comments by Cyndy:

> *Trying to realize I can't do everything....I realize that 12 hours works for me as a student as well as a mother and it doesn't take away from the home environment. I think really setting goals and standards that you realize, and boundaries, that you realize that you're not going to cross, you know, as a student. Because being a student is very important to me, but it's not everything. It's not worth having my home life and my personal life go down the tubes.*

When talking about how they worked toward success as students participants also frequently talked about the sheer effort involved. Richard said the "greatest challenge for me has been personally, actually spending the four, five, six hours a night studying." Indeed, when asked about the factors they perceived as influential when they did better than they expected or not as well as expected, students focused most frequently on the influence of their own efforts, as evidenced by the following comments:

> *Putting time into the studies, plain and simple. And I like organizing groups. I always try to get study groups together. It's just putting the time into it. (Margaret)*

> *I wasn't motivated for one thing. Motivation is a big, big factor. It has to do with me being somewhat apathetic at times like I just, whenever, I'm not really concerned about it. (Jim)*

Student's explanations of perceived failures were, however, more likely to acknowledge additional factors influencing their performance than when they described examples of better than expected performance. A common theme was that of feeling overwhelmed by numerous and competing demands on time. Tania, a single parent, explained:

> *I work every day and if I didn't work I'd get great grades. If I was on welfare I would get great grades. I would be on the Dean's List every semester. But I work and that's the one thing that keeps me from performing the way I'd like. If you look at me it's divided. I have a work life that I excel at. I have an academic life that I'm average. I would love to excel at school but I don't have the time...Last semester I had three jobs.*

Teacher-Student Relationships are Key

Descriptions of critical incidents involving their best teachers and descriptions of their ideal teacher revealed several dimensions to their conceptions of good teaching. These included positive personal characteristics and qualities of teachers (e.g. knowledgeable, good communicator, dynamic, down to earth, humorous, enthusiastic, open-minded, fair) and particular teaching skills or strategies (e.g. making expectations clear, asking questions, making adjustments for students, and teaching survival skills).

The most frequent category of response, however, dealt more specifically with the teacher's relationship with students. Factors mentioned here included: availability, showing respect for students, vs. treating in a demeaning fashion, mentoring, helping students feel connected, showing empathy, demonstrating interest in and responsiveness to individual student needs, and showing genuine concern for student learning. Kathy said of her best teacher:

> *And he would take the time to sit down and talk to you if you needed to talk about class, about anything, you know, he was there for you. And he was saying that where he went to school that's how it was. You know, professors had one-on-one type of relationships with their, with their students, and he thinks that it really enhances the students.*

The importance of relationships with faculty members was also revealed when students responded to a question about the timing and nature of their most recent out-of-classroom contact with a faculty member. Nearly half described interactions that occurred within the last two weeks. While the focus of such interactions varied widely -- from those focusing directly on class-related questions to those of a purely personal nature -- they were consistently described positively, in terms of friendliness, openness, and their non-hierarchical nature.

In the inverse, students descriptions of the worst teachers often focused on their poor relationships with students, more specifically, their perceptions that certain teachers demonstrated bias based on student race or gender.

> *And he made you know without a shadow of a doubt that he had favorites. He had preferences in people. If you were not blond and blue-eyed then you take your chances at what you get as a grade. And female, too -- blond, blue-eyed, and female.*

Students are Individuals -- So Professors Need to Adapt to Differences

Responses to a number of different interview questions pointed to a cross-cutting theme dealing with the individual nature of student needs and the student's desire that these be considered. They longed for professors who had some understanding of the special concerns that adults may bring and of the differences in cultural and educational background that may exist for African American students. They wanted professors with a sufficient degree of sensitivity to such differences to realize that teaching minority adults might not mean business as usual. At the same time, many responses revealed their desire that professors would get to know students as individuals rather than making overly general assumptions related to group membership.

> *The ideal college teacher... probably professors that are able to be diverse no matter what kind of student comes in. Because right now you have the traditional student and you have the untraditional student and some professors assume everyone is untraditional or everyone is very traditional and they talk to you that way. Like you're 12. (Sue)*

> *But as African American students, you sort of like have to shout out, hey, what about this?... This course is fine, but it doesn't include us. (Margaret)*

> *There was one teacher in particular who would always ask me, you know, then what do you think the Black population thinks about this? And you know, to me, I can't speak for the Black population. I can only speak for me. ... And I think a lot of White people expect us to all think the same and act the same. (Pearl)*

Implications

Recommendations based on the project must be made with caution given the institution-specific nature of this research project. Yet, a few ideas seem worth sharing.

1. The students placed a great deal of emphasis on the human factor in explaining their success as students. Programs to improve instruction and advising for minority adults would do well to maximize the opportunity for interpersonal contact with committed faculty and staff.
2. In addition to fostering positive teacher-student relationships, their ideal teachers showed sensitivity to individual student differences, including those based on cultural background. Beneficial faculty development programs are likely to be those which include multicultural awareness as well as attention to diverse learning styles.
3. Students saw themselves as active agents in their own success and failure. They recognized the benefits of working hard as students, and like other adult students, struggled to devote what they perceived as the necessary time to their studies while maintaining other responsibilities. It was not always clear if they possessed the strategies to "work smarter" not just "work harder." Like other adults reentering academic study, they are likely to benefit from programs aimed at improving their learning strategies and knowledge of institutional resources.

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SEEDS OF CONFLICT, SEEDS OF COMPROMISE: A HISTORIOGRAPHY OF AMERICAN WORKERS AND ADULT EDUCATION IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

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Abstract: This paper reviews three interpretive schemes for understanding workers' education, then highlights federal and university involvement. The study reviews some of the major critiques of workers' education, highlighting workers' education often ambiguous and contradictory nature.

Introduction

The history of adult education and the history of workers' education have not been well integrated in the United States. Yet the relationship between adult and workers' education has long been discussed among English and Canadian historians (Welton, 1987; Simon, 1990; Nesbit, 1993, Friesen, 1994). In J.F.C. Harrison's *Learning and Living: 1790-1960: A Study in the History of the English Adult Education Movement,* published thirty-five years ago, and arguably the single best historical work on adult education in the English language, workers' education plays a central role in the emergence of adult education.

In the United States, however, relatively little effort has been devoted to the subject. Despite the recent publication of two major historical works on adult education, Stubblefield and Keane's *Adult Education in the American Experience* (1994) and Kett's *Pursuit of Knowledge Under Difficulties* (1994), workers education within the context of the labor movement is given only cursory attention. This is despite the fact that the labor movement is one of the 19th and 20th centuries most important social movements. Some of this lack of attention may be attributed to the fact that in the United States, the fields of labor education and adult education, though remarkably similar in some significant ways, have emerged as two distinct academic fields (Schied, 1995). However, we argue that in order to understand adult education in the United States, workers' education must be placed in the center of the discussion on the historical development of adult education. For what Michael Welton has noted in the Canadian contexts holds true in the American context as well: The U.S., like Canada, has had a "vital and dynamic popular education tradition" extending from the early 19th Century to the present and the labor movement has always been an important agent of educational activity for over one hundred years (Welton, 1987, p. 5). Furthermore, as the prominent labor historian David Montgomery has noted, education among American workers was carried out by activists who "persistently sough to foster a sense of unity and purposiveness among their fellow worker through the spoken and printed word, strikes meetings, reading circles, military drill, dances, athletic and singing clubs and co-operative stores, and to promote through those activities widely shared analysis of society and of paths to the 'emancipation of labor' (Montgomery, 1987, p. 2)."

It is time that American adult educators reexamine the place of workers' education and, therefore, the place of the labor movement in adult education. However, the history of workers' education is much more complex and contentious than has been portrayed in recent adult education histories. This paper provides a flavor of the historiographical debates revolving around workers education. The paper, therefore, reviews three interpretive schemes for understanding workers' education, then highlights the federal and university involvement in workers' education, and finally reviews some of the major critiques of workers' education, highlighting the ambiguous and contradictory nature of much of workers' education.

Historiographical overviews

Historians have traditionally traced the roots of American workers' education to specific labor and worker education schools and programs and a short period of federal government programmatic and policy support. Dwyer (1977) provides the most well known analysis of the evolution of workers' education from its origins, he claims, around the turn of the century to the 1970s. Dwyer identifies three distinct historical time frames in which workers' education evolved. First, workers' education reached its zenith during the 1920s and 1930s with the creation of independent workers' schools and labor colleges. Growth in workers' education efforts, according to Dwyer, can be traced directly to economic dislocation associated with mass industrialization, the creation of a heavily immigrant American working class and the rise of the labor movement. Philosophically, workers' education was liberatory in the sense that it focused on issues such as organizing, economics, and creation of working peoples knowledge with the ultimate objective of social transformation. In this way the power and influence of the working class could be dramatically increased. Second, as the Depression ended and the post-war era dawned, workers' education came to be replaced by more formalized union education programs. Thus, in the 1940s and the 1950s workers, education programs evolved from independent schools, colleges and programs to union sponsored "labor education." A philosophical shift from liberatory and radical notions of social transformation to more sanitized education focusing on such topics as contract negotiations, grievance processes, and trade union administration occurred. This shift in educational emphasis occurred concomitantly with the rise in the power and influence of trade unions and trade unionism in American society. Third, by the 1960s labor education evolved into university sponsored labor studies programs. Such programs focused on academic preparation and professionalization for those in the labor movement or those who desire to pursue a professional careers in unions or labor relations. Labor education, as sponsored by the union movement continued, though with less influence and a continued focus on the business of trade unionism.

Freeman and Brickner (1990) argue that labor education (which they view as synonymous with workers' education), underwent three phases of growth. First, the premodern period began in the early part of the 19th century and ended with the Great Depression. During this period, independent workers' education institutions became established while certain unions, such as the International Ladies Garment Workers Union (ILGWU) established formal programs as well. Second, during the modern, period, from 1945 to 1960, labor education came under the control of institutions of labor, such as the AFL-CIO, while at the same time universities established university based labor studies programs. Finally, in the new modern era period, from the 1970s to the present, formalized for-credit programs of labor studies and industrial relations evolved at universities and community colleges while labor unions retained and, some instances, expanded education departments, though mainly focusing on "tool" courses.

In attempting to understand the educational basis of workers' education, Roland Paulson (1980) has suggested the North American workers' education were greatly influenced by the Scandinavian folk school movement. He argues that contextually workers' education can be understood in terms of three specific orientations. First, Type A schools are identified as poetic-historic and fostered the spiritual enhancement of participants. Second, Type B, the rational-pragmatic, sought to enhance the technical and organizational skill of those involved in learning. Third, Type C, labeled ideological-confrontational were typically militant in orientation, viewed human relations as largely defined by social class struggle and fostered social justice through direct challenges to social and economic status quo. Type C orientation can best be likened to the independent labor college programs and the Highlander Folk School.

The federal role in workers' education

The proliferation and influence of the independent workers' education movement and associated institutions and the role of the federal government needs to be understood within the context of the national economic and political environment of the 1920s and 1930s. With the onset of the Great Depression, the federal government advocated a national policy in support of workers' education programs (Kornbluh and Goldfarb; Kornbluh, 1987). Specifically, the Roosevelt Administration established the Workers' Service Program administered by the Works Progress Administration (WPA). These programs focused, both regionally and nationally, on improving literacy and vocational skills among unemployed and underemployed workers.

Some programs, sponsored and funded by the WPA, advocated an agenda designed to enhance the social, economic and political awareness of workers, farmers and labor activists The Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) established camp and school programs for unemployed women in rural and industrial settings. Referred to as "she-she-she" camps, the focus was on social and economic issues, home management, vocational skills training and counseling, health education and recreation. Though these federal initiatives would cease to exist by the early 1940s, due to the changing political landscape and the growing influence of trade unions, they reflect an historically significant and not since seen national policy in support of workers' education.

One final major attempt at federally funded workers' education program occurred shortly after World War II. At the height of organized labor's power and influence, legislation was proposed to implement a national labor extension education service. Based on the cooperative extension model, this legislation would have solidified federal policy and programmatic support for an extension service not entirely dissimilar from federal initiatives during the New Deal. Through a series of public hearings input was sought from various constituencies and passage seemed assured, until an economist from General Motors testified that economics taught at the University of Michigan Labor Center (the prototype for the national extension service) was socialist economics. Because of the public outcry lead by corporations such as General Motors, the legislation was defeated. Dwyer (1992), in a provocative article challenges this interpretation. Dwyer's research suggests that the AFL, concerned as always with the establishment of workers' education program outside AFL control, worked actively to subvert the national extension plan. By withdrawing resources at key points, failing to provide testimony countering the General Motors economist, and failing to apply its considerable political pressure, the AFL used the attack on the University of Michigan's Labor Center as a pretext to drop support of a national labor extension service. Never again would a large scale federal workers' education program be proposed.

Workers' education as a form of accommodation: The critics

Barrow's (1990) analysis of American workers' education paints a more complex reality. Echoing an earlier work by Theodore Brameld (1941), Barrow argues that both prior to and during the Great Depression, workers' education was led by a grass roots insurgency of labor militants who rejected the existing system of public education as a manipulative tool designed to perpetuate the hegemony of the ruling class. For these mostly socialist and communist activists, workers' education provided an opportunity to enhance the cause of labor as a social movement and as a political force. Altenbaugh (1990) similarly argues that, on a broader philosophical level, labor colleges established education agendas focused on rescuing working class learning from a profoundly undemocratic public education system controlled by the ruling class. One such program, pioneered by the ILGWU in New York, combined general education and union leadership skills in a part-time program that grew into a Workers University. One featured lecture was Charles Beard, a future president of the American Association for Adult Education (AAAE) (Wolensky, 1994). The key to the success of workers' education was that it be free from the control of union hierarchy, like the American Federation of Labor, so that education could avoid ideological and philosophical domination by an essentially conservative business-oriented trade union organization.

Barrow notes that, from the outset, the conservative American Federation of Labor espoused the education of the working class through the existing public education system and maintained a skeptical view regarding the need for a distinct system of independent labor colleges and workers' education programs particularly when it appeared that such programs challenged the status quo. This skepticism was compounded when workers' education schools and programs appeared to be socialist in orientation and promoted a vision of social unionism contrary to the philosophy of business unionism and conservative politics evident in labor's bureaucratic elite. As a result, the perceived challenge to the power of the AFL eroded the credibility of workers' education and promoted a restrictive policy where organized labor began to withdraw financial and moral support. Thus the Workers Education Bureau (the first professional association of adult education), the coordinating body of the independent labor colleges, was seen as threat by the AFL. Eventually control of the WEB fell into the hands of the AFL, which shortly thereafter subsumed the WEB under its education department (Schied, 1994). As the power, influence and control of the institutions of organized labor solidified in the 1930s, Barrow argues, the independent workers' education movement came under increasing control and scrutiny of the American Federation of Labor.

Kornbluh (1987) points out the ultimate demise of independently based workers' education must also be understood within the broader context of occurrences in organized labor as well as national events. The interest of labor's elite in power consolidation and control was extended to workers' education as New Deal initiatives and social policy were replaced with a national emphasis on industrial and economic expansion due to the increased defense spending of the Second World War.

Stanley Aronowitz, one of the fiercest critics of the accommodative nature of workers' education, argues that the decline of the independent labor colleges was epitomized by the Congress of Industrial Organization's slogan "President Roosevelt wants you to join a union." For Aronowitz, the involvement of the federal government meant the end of an independent ideological development of workers' education. Aronowitz argues that from the time of the New Deal, collective bargaining and the state traveled in tandem. He notes that since the 1940s

American unions have largely organized education around collective bargaining and the topics of grievances, union finances and administration, union leadership, and, to a much lesser degree, politics and history. Thus Aronowitz contends despite the apparently adversarial structure of the American industrial relations model, labor had become a partner within capital. In effect, it had legitimated the state and, thereafter, unions directed their internal efforts at instrumental education

For Aronowitz, the unions emphasis on the skills training around collective bargaining and the involvement of the universities in the study (rather than the practice) of workers' education represented the dominate model of workers' education and had largely been solidified by the early 1950s. Aronowitz labels this form as the service model of workers' education. Education, in this form, becomes another service provided to members by an increasingly distant union bureaucracy.

Kahan (1990) argues that the move away from worker control is reflected in universities involvement. Using Detroit's Wayne State University's establishment of an Institute for Industrial Relations in 1946 as an example, he argues that the university's concern for standards and scholarship shifted the emphasis from the education of workers, to an education *about* work and workers. As Kahan notes: "With union rank and file who sought more education generally restricted to high school night classes....the institute had managed in a few short years, to obviate the early potential for genuine workers' education at Wayne University. At the same time, the institute co-opted Detroit's only major public institution of higher education for programs that reified middle-class approaches to labor unionism as a set of problems to be understood, rather than continuing the earlier commitment to, to approach union members as a class, per se, to be educated (p.88)."

Conclusion

For the critics such as Aronowitz, Burrows, Kahan and, to some extent, Altenbaugh, workers' education ceased to be a major force for radical transformation some time before mid-century. However, as others including the historian David Brody (1980) have noted, to focus only on the failure of the labor movement in general and workers' education in particular to bring about radical social change, fails to take into account the historical conditions which limited the possibility of social transformation. Moreover, it fails to take into account the ways in which the labor movement, though falling far short of its ultimate objective, managed to ameliorate the harsher aspects of capitalism. What other vehicle in post-World War II America, with the exception of the civil rights movement, provided a forum in which education for transformation could even be broached?

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A Few Potholes on the Road to Salvation: Codes of Ethics in Adult Education

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Abstract: This paper presents a critical analysis of two ethical codes and a set of guidelines for developing ethical codes that present principles intended to guide adult education practitioners. The analysis suggests that these initial efforts, although laudable in intent, have serious flaws that must be corrected if codes of ethics are to be viewed by practitioners as *useful and credible* statements of their ethical obligations.

Background

During the past decade there has been much discussion of ethical issues in adult education and of the desirability and feasibility of developing codes of ethics for adult educators (Boulmetis & Russo, 1991; Carlson, 1988; Griffith, 1991; Sork & Welock, 1992; Cunningham, 1992; Connelly & Light, 1991). While the debates among academics have continued, several adult education organizations in the United States have developed codes of ethics or guidelines for developing codes. In 1993, the Coalition of Adult Education Organizations (CAEO)—representing 29 national organizations concerned with adult learning—published *Guidelines for Developing a Code of Ethics for Adult Educators*, in part to encourage the development of codes by adult education associations. This document contains 36 ethical principles that could be included in a code. In 1994, the Adult and Community Educators Association of Michigan approved a code of ethics for its members and encouraged other associations in the state to adopt the code. This code consists of nine "standards" representing philosophical ideals and professional responsibilities considered essential in the work of association members. Also in 1994, the Learning Resources Network (LERN), based in Manhattan, Kansas, issued a Code of Ethics for those engaged in "the development, implementation, and delivery of lifelong learning programs." This code consists of 18 "principles developed to define the highest ethical responsibilities of LERN members committed to the concept of lifelong education." Each of these documents is intended to provide ethical guidance to practitioners.

McDonald and Wood (1993) found that a clear majority of practitioners surveyed from three adult education professional associations in Indiana believed that it would be very helpful to have a code of ethics to refer to in their work. Other less-systematic surveys have found that practitioners routinely observe actions which they consider to be unethical or improper. Stories in the popular press report frequent examples of ethical lapses on the part of people involved in adult education. A good example is the press coverage devoted to "The Miami Case" in 1991 in which the instructor in a course on investing—who was also an investment broker—was sued, along with the school district that hired him, for using his position to gain the trust of older adult learners who subsequently lost large sums of money on investments that he made on their behalf. Other less dramatic examples include misrepresenting the potential benefits of enrolling in their programs, revealing information regarded by learners as confidential, exploiting part-time or contract instructors, using funds designated for one purpose to accomplish another, and awarding "credit" for learning when learners did not participate in programs. Although there seems to be ample evidence that ethical lapses occur in adult education practice and that some practitioners would find it helpful to have a code of ethics, there continue to be serious concerns raised about the desirability and feasibility of developing enforceable codes of ethics for adult educators. Until these documents were published the debate about whether adult education should have a code of ethics was carried out in the abstract. Participants in the debate—both pro and con—based their arguments on assumptions about what codes of ethics would or could be like and how they might be used. Now that several codes have been developed, it is time to shift from debating whether codes should be developed to critically analyzing the codes that now exist.

This paper begins this process by analyzing portions of the three documents described above, each of which suggests principles that are thought to be central to ethically-defensible practice. The analysis identifies principles reflected in the codes and guidelines, discusses the perils of basing a code on some of these principles, and proposes criteria that might be used to assess the suitability of any code of ethics developed for adult educators.

Codes as Progress/Codes as Regress

Having a code of ethics is one characteristic of a profession. There is a clear trend in adult education toward greater professionalization, which may explain the relatively high level of interest in professional ethics during the past decade. Some regard developing a code of ethics as a sign that adult education has reached a notable level of maturity (Connelly & Light, 1991; Sork & Welock, 1992) whereas others regard the discourse about codes of ethics as a danger signal that all the evils of professionalization are soon to befall the field (Carlson, 1988; Cunningham, 1992). There is good evidence that both positions are partly correct. To illustrate this assertion, several clauses from these three documents are analyzed for the explicit and implicit messages they communicate about the nature of ethically-responsible practice.

Illustration 1

> *Participants accepted for enrollment in a course or program have the right to have their personal and cultural values acknowledged and understood within the context of course or program objectives.* (CAEO Guidelines, p. 2)
>
> *The Adult and Community Educator is aware of and responsive to the multicultural and diverse aspects of their community.* (Michigan Code, Standard 7)

These clauses acknowledge diversity as an important factor in education and place an obligation on educators to understand the implications of this diversity for their practice. There can, of course, be endless debates about the extent to which cultural values and other forms of diversity should be acknowledged and the types of practices that are regarded as respectful of and responsive to diversity, but the message from these clauses is clear: educators are obliged to be aware of diversity and to understand its implications for their work. But these clauses are so vague that one wonders how they might be interpreted by learners and practitioners and whether they might lead to more confusion than clarity. At the level of principle, it is difficult to argue with the point that adult educators should be aware of and responsive to difference, but converting the general principle into language suitable for a code of ethics is clearly a difficult challenge.

Illustration 2

> *Possible conflicts of interest bearing on course or program objectives for instructors and program leaders are fully disclosed in advance of participant enrollment and again at the onset of instruction.* (CAEO Guidelines, p. 2)
>
> *The Adult and Community Educator honors the public trust in their position above any economic, personal or social rewards and acts as a positive role model in their community.* (Michigan Code, Standard 3)
>
> *I will not use the class for personal gain nor to sell any product or service.* (LERN Code, Teacher's clause 4)

These clauses focus on conflict of interest, but in very different ways. The CAEO clause calls for *disclosure* of possible conflicts; the Michigan Code suggests that conflicts can be avoided by *honouring the public trust;* and the LERN Code prohibits *personal gain* from instructional activities. The implicit messages here are quite different as well. The CAEO clause is based on the view that disclosure provides adequate protection from conflicts of interest. It also places a great deal of responsibility on the learner to know how to interpret the implications of possible conflicts that are disclosed and on the educator to both be aware of and to be able to disclose possible conflicts. The Michigan Code assumes that educators will be aware of such conflicts and know what actions will "honour the public trust." The LERN Code assumes that one knows what personal gain involves and emphasizes the more blatant forms of conflict (selling products or services). It is difficult to argue with the general principles reflected in these clauses because they are consistent with societal expectations regarding how professionals behave, but the vague wording of these clauses leaves them open to many different interpretations and may confuse more than clarify.

Other clauses contained in these documents are more problematic because they reflect "principles" that are contentious, that have been intentionally violated by notable and respected figures in adult education or that promote the status quo. Accepting these clauses may effectively exclude practices designed to challenge the status quo and otherwise promote emancipatory and transformational forms of adult education.

Illustration 3

> *In preparing materials, instructors and program leaders comply fully with all appropriate copyright laws and document their efforts.* (CAEO Guidelines, p. 3)
>
> *The Adult and Community Educator adheres to local, state and national laws and guidelines.* (Michigan Code, Standard 5)

These clauses are based on the principle that to practice ethically means to "follow the rules." On the face of it, this seems like a reasonable expectation. But when we consider the history of adult education—especially the social movement dimension of adult education—it seems clear that following the rules would discourage some forms of practice that we now consider noble parts of our heritage. Notable examples are the work of Miles Horton at Highlander and Paulo Freire in Brazil (Bell, Gaventa & Peters, 1990). Both these men violated the rules that existed at the time because they were committed to principles that transcended the "law of the land." Including such clauses in codes of ethics confuses the legal with the ethical and makes it less likely that the status quo will be challenged. Such clauses illustrate the criticism that codes of ethics are tools to maintain existing structures of power and privilege; such clauses make it "unethical" to challenge authority and unjust laws.

Illustration 4

> *Within an institution or agency, adult educators are not marginalized; neither are adult learning programs developed at an inferior level of quality for the purpose of using the fees they generate to subsidize programs considered more central to a sponsor's mission.* (CAEO Guidelines, p. 3)
>
> *The Adult and Community Educator provides leadership in creating and revising policies and regulations as they relate to the profession.* (Michigan Code, Standard 6)
>
> *I will take responsibility for my own learning* (LERN Code, Learner's clause 1)

The first of these clauses attempts to proscribe the behaviors of others not subject to the code. The principle on which this is based seems to be "We want our work to be regarded as important and we don't want our programs to be treated as 'cash cows' by our institutions." It is very difficult to see how this can be considered an ethical or moral principle. The second clause is based on the principle that every adult educator has an obligation to become actively involved in policy formulation irrespective of the implications of the policy. A more defensible clause would describe the practitioner's obligation to support policies that promote access, quality and other matters that are important to the provision of adult education programs. The third clause is curious not only because it seems designed to absolve the provider of "performance liability," but also because it is directed at learners who are not even members of LERN. Along with the first, this clause illustrates the problem of attempting to proscribe behaviors of people who are not subject to the code. Whenever these types of clauses end up in codes, it looks, at best, self-serving and at worst, manipulative and defensive.

Toward a Better Code of Ethics

Initial efforts to develop codes in adult education have strengths and weaknesses expected of any initial effort. They have provided us with texts that can be analyzed so that we can learn more about what separates a valuable code that reflects widely-held views of what ethical practice involves from a list of vacuous clauses designed to impress the public and maintain the status quo. There are some promising elements in the codes developed to date, but these should not be regarded as examples of codes that avoid the problems identified by critics. It is doubtful that those who have argued against developing codes of ethics in adult education will ever find one that is acceptable. It is also doubtful that those who are convinced that a code of ethics is important in adult education will end their efforts to develop better codes, but it is not yet clear what a "better" code would look like.

Developing a better code of ethics depends on learning from the mistakes of other professions, on attending to the concerns raised by critics like Carlson (1988) and Cunningham (1992), and on addressing the key moral issues in adult education in a way that accommodates the diversity found in practice. The literature contains useful ideas about how to proceed. For example, Connelly and Light (1991) suggest five principles that should be reflected in a code of ethics for adult educators: social responsibility, inclusive philosophy, pluralism, respect for learners and respect for educators. They argue that adult education is in a unique position to model an alternative to conventional approaches to ethics because of its interdisciplinary character. They propose emphasizing adult education's responsibility and accountability to society as one means of setting it apart from other professions. Inclusive philosophy involves an explicit statement "that the profession is committed to a synoptic or inclusive view that allows for the best of many educational philosophies" (p. 235). The code should acknowledge that "there are far ranging opinions about the nature, ends, and means of adult education" (p. 235) and that this pluralism is a strength of this profession. Respect for learners means respect for the worth and dignity of all people. "Adults should be treated as autonomous agents, as possessing the right of self-determination and freedom of choice in learning" (p. 236). Respect for educators means respect for the wide variety of backgrounds, training, values and perspectives held by practitioners.

Other ethicists have suggested "elements of ethics" that must be addressed if codes are to be considered comprehensive. An example of elements to be addressed is provided by Purtilo (1993) who discusses the duties (obligations) of professionals. Duties of nonmaleficence (refraining from harming oneself or another), beneficence (bringing about good), fidelity (promise keeping), veracity (telling the truth) and justice (distributing benefits and burdens fairly) should all be addressed in a code.

Combining the principles suggested by Connelly and Light with the elements of ethics suggested by Purtilo would provide demanding criteria for judging current and proposed codes of ethics. Employing such criteria will not guarantee that better codes of ethics will be developed, but being clear about the high expectations held for codes of ethics may improve their quality.

It remains to be seen whether the codes of ethics developed so far have any positive impact on practice. If they make no other contribution, they have at least provided text for critical analysis and discussion. Given rising public demand for accountability among all professions, it seems likely that there will continue to be pressure to codify the ethical obligations of practitioners and the rights of adult learners. There are clearly risks involved in doing this work, but setting high standards for ourselves and holding one another accountable for those standards will increase the possibility of developing a code of ethics that is both useful and credible.

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LABOUR EDUCATION FOR 2001

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Abstract: How should unions educate their members and activists for the new century? Labour education trends in the USA, Canada, Britain (UK), Australia, and New Zealand (NZ) indicate that both incorporatist and independent educational strategies will prevail.

The Scope of Labour Education

"Labour education" refers to all education and training courses run directly by labour unions and courses run for unions by other providers such as colleges or universities. Labour education can encompass all labour studies courses targeted at union members but should be interpreted in this paper as excluding labour studies programs targeted at a general student body. Labour education has three main purposes:

* To prepare and train union lay members (and staffers) to play an active role in the union
* To educate activists and members about union policy, about changes in the union environment such as new management techniques or changes in labour law
* To develop union consciousness and support social action, to build common goals and to share organizing and campaign experience.

Unions have a small full time staff and therefore rely on the voluntary activity of their members to be effective: labour education is therefore a major contributor to building an effective volunteer force.

Most labour union members learn about the union while on the job (what is often referred to as informal or incidental learning). They probably learn more and are most active during disputes (for example in strikes, lockouts, grievances or negotiations), but they also learn from union publications and communications; from attending meetings, conferences and conventions; and from the union's educational programs. Although labour education only caters to a small number of members in any one year it is "social", as opposed to personal, education. It is designed to benefit a larger number of unionists because the course participants bring the education to other members. Labour education has a social purpose -- to promote and develop the union presence and aims, so as to advance the union collectively.

Membership participation in labour education is probably somewhere between 3% and 5% in the five countries studied. This rate is considerably lower than participation rates in Scandinavian countries, which have conservatively been placed at 10%, and results in an even lower overall worker participation in labour education when the much higher Scandinavian union density among workers is taken into account (union density of 80-90% in Sweden compared to 17% in the USA). This level of participation may suggest that labour education is unworthy of attention but, as argued above, the education provided has a significance beyond the classroom. Also this education is non-vocational, essentially non-credential, it can be categorized as "non-formal" adult education and in spite of these low participation rates is probably the most

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significant provision of non-vocational non-formal adult education for working people provided in any of the five countries. For example 120,000 Canadians are estimated to participate in labour education every year (Spencer, 1994), far more than in any other social purpose non-formal adult education program.

An Overview of Labour Education

There are three main types of labour education courses. Most of the courses provided by unions are *tools* training (eg. to train workplace representatives in grievance handling, health and safety, and recruitment strategies). The next largest category are *issues* courses (eg. on sexual harassment or racism) which often seek to link workplace and societal issues. A third group of courses can be labelled *labour studies* which seek to examine the union context (eg. labour history, economics and politics).

Tool and Issues Course: Tools courses directly prepare members to become representatives of the union. They are targeted at existing or potential union activists. They are often provided directly by the unions (particularly in Canada), but may also be offered on behalf of unions by educational establishments (as in the USA or UK) or by central union training bodies (Australia and NZ).

Many unions layer their courses, in that they have introductory and advanced programs. Some of these tool courses lead on to *issue* courses (sometimes referred to as "awareness" courses), they may also be targeted at the broader membership particularly if a union is undertaking a campaign, for example, against privatization of public services.

Labour Studies Courses: The union movement also provides more extensive and demanding educational opportunities such as the ten-week residential Harvard Trade Union Program or the eight-week residential Labour College of Canada (LCC). The one- and two-year union supported programs at UK colleges, such as Ruskin or Northern College, can also be included here, although the courses tend to be more remote from union influence. These more extensive *labour studies* courses are designed to broaden participants' awareness of the context of labour unionism. They have been replicated in non-residential evening, weekend, day-release or distance education formats in all five countries. The programs of study may run from one to three years and the graduates may be awarded certificates which are often transferable to mainstream higher education credit courses.

A number of unions have sought to control these labour studies programs more directly and to make them more widely available to members; two examples are the Paid Educational Leave (PEL) program offered by the Canadian Autoworkers (CAW) (discussed below) and the distance education programs offered by UK unions such as the Transport and General Workers Union (TGWU) and the amalgamated public sector union Unison, the largest union in the UK.

Other Labour Education

Unions are involved in a number of other educational initiatives which are strictly outside of our definition of labour education. These include union-run literacy courses many of which are tutored by fellow unionists and act as a bridge linking immigrant or illiterate workers to union concerns and publications. Examples of these can be found in all five countries studied. Similarly, unions are responsible for a number of worker-training programs which, alongside vocational training, allow the unions to educate workers about union concerns. The building trades and other skilled groups have traditionally been active in this area, as have the former International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union (ILGWU) as exemplified in their collective agreements, but other examples can now be found across the spectrum. Unison and the Australian unions (and to a lesser extent unions in NZ) have given vocational training a high priority linked to national vocational qualifications and skill groupings (see below).

Within our review of labour education, a case can also be made for including some worker health and safety training in which unions are involved (this should not be confused with union safety representative training which is definitely labour education). These courses allow unions to argue for a union view (safe workplace) as opposed to a management view (safe worker) of health and safety. In Los Angeles (UCLA Labor Studies Centre), Quebec, and Ontario (Ontario Federation of Labour) in particular, there is union-run or union-influenced worker health and safety training which has been successfully used as part of union organizing drives. Other examples can be found across the five countries. In many of these cases it can be argued that state funds, industrial sector or company money, as well as union funds, are being used to support "labour education".

Unions have also had some limited involvement in television and radio productions, with a view to educating the public and their members, and in computer networks such as the Canadian Union of Public Employees' (CUPE) SoliNet (see below). Some unions are also actively involved in training and providing speakers for school visits.

Labour Education in the Twenty-first Century

Given this framework, what kind of labour education best prepares organized labour for the twenty-first century? There is not a straightforward answer to this question, it depends not only on predictions of developments in national and international economies but also on ideological perspectives. Unions have always had a dual character being both oppositional to, and collaborative with, employers. Unions represent collective worker aspirations to wrest greater control over work processes from employers and at the same time are the primary bargaining agents seeking agreements with employers; agreements which incorporate unions into employer goals. The contradictory nature of unionism is reflected in all labour education but it could be argued that a greater emphasis on business unionism (representing specific groups of employees, negotiation and agreement, acceptance of management rights) as opposed to social unionism (seeking a union presence outside as well as inside the workplace, connecting with other progressive social movements and issues to advance the "class" interests of workers) will result in support for a narrower curriculum, a focus on **tools training** courses and workplace problems and less emphasis on **issues** and **labour studies** courses.

The different approaches to labour education will also reflect the different historical conditions and ideologies which have influenced national and regional labour movements. For example, the kind of activist and agitational labour education programs provided by Highlander were a response to the difficulties of organizing unions in the hostile anti-union and racialized politics of the Southern US. On the other hand, the collaborative union-management education offered to UAW members in the union's residential centre reflects the dominant US business unionism approach (London, 1990). Within North America, a distinction can be drawn between that dominant US perspective and the social unionism of Canada. Labour education in the UK, Australia and NZ has been influenced by state support for trained and responsible negotiators and by different traditions of social democratic government and worker education. In Australia, national social democratic governments have been more successful. The Trade Union Training Authority (TUTA) was trusted to provide union training; broader labour studies courses are scarce, and labour education has not been a major ideological battleground (Newman, 1993). In the UK, narrow TUC-dominated tools courses have been contrasted with more militant workers' educational traditions and broader labour studies programs which did not rely on state support (McIlroy, 1990). NZ has become the experimental playground of the new right, and whereas labour education could be seen as developing in response to Australian (and to a lesser extent UK) experience, it now has to rediscover a purpose alongside the remaking of unionism itself. The question of *whither labour education* is also tied up in the bigger question of *whither unionism* in the twenty-first century.

Given the constraints of this paper I will focus on three areas of labour education for 2001: PEL, training, and distance education.

Paid Educational Leave

Arguments favouring PEL have been a feature of labour education for some time. For example, legislation supporting PEL for union representatives' training was introduced in the UK in the mid 1970s and in NZ in 1986. The UK legislation was limited to industrial relations purposes but did result in employers paying wages for basic courses (typically 10 days release). The NZ legislation was broader but the length of time released was less. Employer-paid release for union representatives has also been a feature of many contracts in all countries but unpaid leave is also common, particularly in North America, where the union pays for lost wages. There are only a few examples of PEL for ordinary members, with the Ford Employee Development Assistance Program, which operates in North America and the UK being the best known. The NZ legislative right was short-lived and, given the current political and economic climate, it is unlikely that new legislation or new employer-initiated schemes will be enacted. Is there then a future for PEL?

The answer is most definitely *YES*, as long as unions are prepared to make PEL a priority in negotiations. Unions will no doubt continue to gain release for representative training and some of that may be paid fully or partly by employers. But that kind of PEL is not the wave of the future, the PEL program developed by the CAW is. As part of its contract with the employer, the union negotiates a levy to be paid into its PEL trust-fund. The union retains control over the money and uses it to pay for lost wages and expenses of their members (not just representatives) who attend the 4-week residential PEL course. The program consists of four, week-long residential courses, usually separated by two to three weeks back at work. A CAW/PEL course would typically consist of 130 members subdivided into 6 groups. The course could be categorized as labour studies, each week of the basic PEL course has a separate theme: the present as history, sociology, political economy, and social and political change (Spencer, 1994).

This program is not focused narrowly on preparing representatives for collective bargaining but on promoting an understanding of the union's social and political goals. The union's purpose is to provide a broad educational experience which challenges their members to question social, economic and political structures -- the dominant political hegemony -- and to review the role of unions in society. They discuss the relationship between national and international questions as well as those between union members.

A four-week residential membership education program is a model of the kind of PEL that can be won through negotiation. The union has made continuation of PEL a priority in all its contracts. The CAW/PEL program is now emulated by the Canadian Union of Postal Workers (CUPW) and clearly represents a kind of PEL that unions everywhere could establish. It will be most attractive to those unions who wish to foster an independent workers' knowledge in order to contest hegemonic notions of globalization.

It is important to recognize that neither the employer nor the state has any influence over the PEL program. It is not employer-paid time off as experienced in some joint union/management training courses. Once the contract includes a PEL clause, the money collected pays for the members who attend the course. They receive time off without pay from the employer.

Vocational Training

While vocational training is not labour education but an education for work, union attempts to influence vocational training have become central to union strategy in the face of globalization and restructuring (Evatt Foundation, 1995). Many companies are operating restrictive company-specific job training. The training increases the skill level or the commitment (in the case of HRM training) of their workers, but does not provide generally recognized training or qualifications. The union response to this situation is to argue for broader training programs to fit into a nationally recognized skills/education profile (as well as challenging employers to live up to their rhetoric on pay for knowledge). This argument resonates with government desires to improve the overall skills of the workforce and has gained some leverage, particularly evident in Australia (also a key to "strategic unionism", Evatt Foundation, 1995).

In addition, some unions are arguing for a genuine participation in decision making at work, for real teams, more complete work cycles, more job control, and a say over investment decisions. To accomplish this they are demanding joint or union education on work reorganization to replace employer-only HRM training. In Australia, they are also arguing that the skills developed in this kind of education (and in traditional labour education) should be recognized within the national vocational qualifications scheme. (In the UK, a TUC push for vocational recognition of basic labour education met with resistance from some unions on the grounds that the vocational emphasis would undermine the social collective purposes of labour education and would individualize tools training courses, resulting in even narrower curriculum.)

An argument for nationally recognized training schemes fits comfortably within the labourist traditions of unionism. Unions seek alliance with the state to fulfil the broader state mandate to create the conditions for successful capitalism within which unions can flourish. Some of the larger more progressive companies can see advantages in a larger pool of skilled workers as long as all other companies are also having to contribute to its development. A tripartite consensus can therefore be established, although companies will generally argue for the least expensive options. A major problem is posed by the new right political ideology which argues for a reduced role for the state and by globalization of production and freer trade which can undermine national initiatives. One union strategy to help combat this opposition is to internationalize union demands for vocational training. There is some evidence of this in developed countries, although presently there is little coordination between national labour movements and there is some unease within individual unions as to the extent of incorporation implied in this strategy. However, this trend will strengthen and continue to 2001.

Distance Education and the Internet

Unions have used forms of distance learning for sometime, particularly correspondence courses. More recently, they have been experimenting with more developed distance education and with computer systems (Taylor, 1996). Distance education has been associated with individualized learning. It does not lend itself to social adult education, but, placed in the collective context of unionism and given the move to greater interaction possible via computer enhanced distance education, distance delivered labour education is becoming more attractive. An electronic classroom and e-mail moves this kind of distance education closer to the traditional union school which always involved classroom and informal learning -- gained via recreational conversation outside the classroom.

For example, SoliNet has been used by a range of unions in Canada to exchange information and to educate members informally as to current affairs and key issues by posting labour news items and encouraging exchanges between participants. Some paced, focused conferences, for example, on the reorganization of work, have been offered. These involve a moderator acting as a chair, suggesting topics, and moving discussion along. This kind of conferencing perhaps fits somewhere between informal and non-formal education as there is little centrally provided information. SoliNet has also been used to deliver specific education courses such as the Athabasca University (AU) Introduction to Labour Studies. So far distance education courses have been favoured for delivering more sustained labour studies courses (Unison, TGWU, LCC/AU) but unions are looking to distance education as a cheaper and more accessible alternative to weekend and residential schools for tools training.

A CUPE/AU project to evaluate the use of computer-delivered labour education particularly in relation to "training the trainers" is now under-way. This will include a review of union use of the WWW and Internet. Some unions are already making use of the connectivity to provide specific information to representatives. For example, a safety representative in the General Municipal and Boilermakers (GMB) -- one of the first UK unions to use these systems -- might need information on noise at work. S/he accesses the union for advice. That advice may include connections to other sites explaining decibels, types of noise and noise damage. The union may also include access to companies specializing in the engineered reduction of noise or a conference in which union representatives can exchange information on how they tackled noise reduction in their workplace.

Conclusion

Most labour education consists of *tool training* and *issues* courses targeted at union activists. In addition, unions and union centres, sometimes working with educational institutions, provide *labour studies* programs. If unions wish to maintain an independent labour education into the twenty-first century, they will need to negotiate PEL and/or develop a distance delivered labour studies program. If unions want to extend their influence over work and jobs in the context of globalization, they will argue for broader vocational training and skills recognition. In preparation for 2001, unions will expand their educational use of Internet to aid achievement of these contradictory objectives as befits their contradictory nature.

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WOMEN MENTORING WOMEN:
CONTRADICTIONS, COMPLEXITIES AND TENSIONS

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INTRODUCTION. Women who mentor women enter into a complex adult learner/teacher relationship filled with contradictions and tensions. Normally it is viewed as having positive implications for both the learner and the teacher. In an earlier paper (Stalker, 1994) I theorised, from a feminist perspective, this phenomenon. The purpose of this paper is to explore that theorisation through the empirical study of women mentoring women in the academy. The paper first presents briefly a feminist critique of the traditional conceptualisation of mentoring. It then focuses on the theoretical implications of that critique which formed the basis for the empirical study. The methodology and selected findings are followed by a brief discussion of the findings and their relevance to our understandings of women mentoring women in the academy.

A FEMINIST CRITIQUE. The traditional conceptualisation of mentoring is androcentric, that is, it has a male bias and orientation. It expresses this in its construction of research designs, in its avoidance of the problematics of men mentoring women and in its underlying assumption that women mentors act as producers and reproducers of the patriarchal Academe.

In the first instance, mentoring research does not consider gender as a major variable. Most research is based upon, and findings are generalised from, mixed sex populations. The majority of research projects are conceptualised in a way which does not recognise the experiences of women mentors as unique from those of men. This gives the impression that the nature of male and female mentors and of the mentoring process is homogeneous. On the other hand, among those studies which *do* consider sex as a major variable, there is a tendency 'to cast in stone what differences do exist and to view females as aberrant or deficient when and where they fail to comply with male 'norms.' (Collard and Stalker, 1991, p. 76).

In the second instance, the majority of the mentoring literature also ignores the problematics of men mentoring women. Few authors acknowledge the possibility of tension and dissension in the relationship or that it may be exploitative and dysfunctional. Fewer still acknowledge the issues in terms of gender. Specific projects and studies, however, suggest that male faculty affirm male students more than female students; more frequently give both informal and formal encouragement to male students; treat male students as a colleague and select them above women for teaching or research assistants. These situations are exacerbated when the women are also aged, handicapped, lesbian, of colour or of ethnic origin. It appears that mentors relate best to mentees who share their values, and attitudes. In sum, the mentoring literature, while not declaring these kinds of mentoring relationships 'unworkable', clearly stresses the problems inherent in it (Jacobi, 1991). This literature, however, remains marginal to the mainstream conceptualisation of mentoring.

The third and theoretically most important critique of the mentoring literature concerns its assumption that women mentors socialise mentees, most of whom are women (Busch, 1985), into acceptance and accommodation of the patriarchal academic system. This view must be critiqued for its simplistic interpretation of women mentors as producers and reproducers of the patriarchal Academe and its inability to acknowledge the special location of women mentors.

WOMEN MENTORS' SPECIAL LOCATION. Women mentors act as both 'same' and 'other' within the academy. As 'same' we accommodate the patriarchal institution which forces an unavoidable homogeneity and sameness on those within it. Like all academics, we possess a measure of the privileges and power of the elite who produce and legitimate knowledge and language. We engage in structured competition for recognition and exhibit to some extent the norms, values and beliefs of the male academic culture. As 'same' women accept that professional work supersedes both personal relationships and interests outside the academic world (Jensen, 1982). We engage in the authoritative, assertive, abstract style of 'rational' 'phalloreferential/reverential' (Hardy Aiken, Anderson, Dinnerstein, Lensink and MacCorquodale, 1987, p. 270) discourse which dominates Academe (Aisenberg and Harrington, 1988).

In the second instance, women are not 'same' but 'other,' for although women academics may be inside, we are simultaneously, inevitably and irrefutably 'other.' It is self-evident that we are a group who are in the minority, do the least prestigious teaching, take the majority of part-time positions and staff 'women's specialties' and 'women's' fields.' Less obviously, women's criticisms of the patriarchal bases of research and theory locate them as 'other.' These discourses of dissonance are oppositional to the 'Eurocentric male dominance of academic discourse' (Carty, 1991, p. 17) and become by that definition 'other.' Further, when women academics display these assertive, vigorous behaviours and challenge the male norms we may be penalised and denied access to resources--and thus be restricted to the margins as 'other.' (The irony of this is, of course, that those very behaviours indicate 'same'-ness.) Alternately, if we act in stereotypically female ways and are compliant, cooperative and nurturing, we are allocated to teaching and service roles (Simeone, 1987)--roles which once again identify us as 'other' in an environment where scholarship and publishing records are valued over teaching and service.

Women also remain 'other' in terms of stereotypical expectations for us. These expectations suggest that there is a women's culture distinct from a men's, and thus academic, culture. As we acquire the skills of the Academe, such as rule-making or speaking with authority, we enter the territory which usually is viewed as 'properly the province of men' (Aisenberg et al, 1988, p. 65). At the same time, our engagement with Academe is limited by the extent to which we can create non-traditional partnerships within our private spheres in order to accommodate the time, energy and resource demands of our public spheres. These relationships also reinforce an 'other'-ness relative to expectations for women.

Women academics are also 'other' relative to women within the academy who have less power, status and authority. Women who differ in colour, class, ethnicity, ability and sexual orientation note that too often white, middle class women who dominate Academe consider issues directly related to our own experiences and ignore the inseparability of racial and sexual oppression. The dominant group of women academics are simultaneously the oppressor and the oppressed, the creators of 'other'-ness and the 'other,' within the male domain.

Finally, women academics may be 'other' in relation to ourselves. By locating ourselves within patriarchal structures, we may risk losing ourselves (Aisenberg, 1988). There is a sense of a 'bifurcated consciousness' (Acker, 1983, p. 198) in which we experience the lack of fit between the theoretical and our personal life world experiences.

Women mentors' work in the interstices between 'same'-ness and 'other'-ness (Farwell Adams, 1983, p. 135) is much more complex than the dichotomous representation above however. Our location can be interpreted as a location of paralysis. After all, in structural relationships women as 'other' are engaged in our own struggles to establish high organisational or specific career status. In terms of personal relationships, women who establish sensitive, caring and concerned personal relationships with our mentees risk confirming views of ourselves as located primarily within the women's culture, rather than within the male academic culture. In that environment, such caring relationships are associated with increased professional and political vulnerability. Women academics' location similarly confuses our role of mentors in ensuring the traditional outcomes. To the extent that we enter into discourses of dissonance which are oppositional to the 'Eurocentric male dominance of academic discourse' (Carty, 1991, p. 17), we exist outside the dominant academic structures. We are thus poorly located to facilitate mentees' entry into the dominant academic networks, ways of producing knowledge and research methodologies. Similarly, some may judge that we are not well placed to heighten mentees' self-development as we struggle to find value for our own ideas and behaviours within the patriarchal

Academe. Finally, some might argue that, in view of our inevitable critique of our disciplines (Aisenberg et al, 1988), we are not oriented to facilitate mentees' movement and integration into the 'ecology of the workplace' (Sands, Parson and Duane, 1991, p. 179).

This view of women mentor's unique location as one of paralysis is unacceptable. It portrays women in Academe as passively receiving the inherited and imposed nature of the patriarchal academic culture. It depicts women as lacking an 'oppositional consciousness' (Moglen, 1983, p. 131), as victims of the male academic culture, as deficient relative to the 'norm' of male mentors. Finally, this view confines its understanding of mentoring to the institution. It does not extend its analysis to the wider system of patriarchy in society. An alternate view represents our location as one of possibility and transformation. Our location in the interstices is viewed as a site of 'vigor and life' which will thrive on the strength of women who come 'from outside, without allegiances to the Men's Club' (Farwell Adams, 1983, p. 138). Recalling that women academics mentor primarily women mentees, we thus play a particular role in fostering resistance to the male academy. Sensitive to the power structures which limit our activities, we emphasise the importance of empowerment of women. Embedded in this view of women mentors as actors, is the suggestion that through our activities within the institution, we can extend our influence beyond its boundaries and act upon larger social issues.

A view of women mentors as transformers of institutions and society is problematic if it stands on its own. Fundamentally, it is impossible to ignore women mentor's reality of being simultaneously both 'same' and 'other.' None the less, it is clear that women academics are uniquely located and possess a mentoring potential which is not acknowledged in the literature.

RESEARCH DESIGN AND IMPLEMENTATION. Data were collected over a period of one and a half years from a total of 12 women who volunteered to take part in the study. All met the traditional criteria for mentors: they were older (ranging in age from early 40s to late 50s) experienced academics with positions which accorded them organisational or career status. Five of the respondents were employed in a university in New Zealand/Aotearoa, 7 were employed in a university in England within a college which catered particularly for women.

The data related in this study were collected via semi-structured interviews of usually an hour's duration. The questions probed notions of the ideal mentor, respondents' experiences of mentors as well as of mentoring, differences between mentoring men and women. As is usual with qualitative data, each audio tape was played and words, phrases or sentences related to the theorised research question were noted. They then were sorted several times into various possible groupings of conceptions in a constant comparative method resembling grounded theorisation. Final categorisations were stable representations of core meanings captured in the interviews.

It is important to note here that the research design was guided by an interpretive approach called phenomenography (Marton, 1981). It focussed on understanding the possible ways in which individuals function within a conceptual outcome space. The task for the research is to uncover the boundaries within which individuals "move -- more or less freely -- back and forth" (Marton, 1984, p. 62) and within which they may hold many and contradictory conceptions about a phenomenon. The characteristics of individuals are not important and causal or comparative analysis is not appropriate.

SELECTED FINDINGS. Space restrictions limit the discussion below to conceptions which are particularly relevant to the theoretical analysis. These are in the three domains of managing: the environment, the process and the relationship. Similarly, quotations have not been attributed to individuals, although they were drawn from women within both institutions.

Managing the environment - There was a sense in which respondents saw Academe as a "foreign culture," a "male culture" with which they and their mentees had to "put up" and within which they had to learn to manoeuvre. There were "male chauvinist piggies" and "people at the top" and a "peer group" and themselves. This them-us dichotomous relationship was mirrored in the strategies they employed to manage that divided culture.

Act like water - On the one hand, there were subtle, careful attempts to change the environment. These include actions in ways which were more friendly, In one woman's words "acting like water" creeping into the institution. Throughout, the emphasis was on demystifying the system. They spoke of strategies which included acting in ways which were more friendly, supportive and non-threatening, getting into positions of authority, setting good examples. Although these strategies parallel the traditional literature, subtle differences were embedded within them: being a role model was labelled as "a false example" because there was "not enough room for everybody to do what I'm doing"; positions of power could be acquired by marrying a man with high power and status; "women's turning to men as mentors rather than to women....sleeping with the enemy" could undermine women's progress in the system.

Bang down doors - On the other hand, mentors also held a view of managing the environment which was confrontational and oppositional. They spoke of encouraging woman to "stand up" for themselves, "to stand up for their rights." Being confrontational was cast as both an unsafe and an unsound activity. It seemed important to "not exactly pussyfoot" , but to act in a way which was "essentially more positive" and "didn't put offside the people they were worried about putting offside." It is particularly interesting to notice that merely pointing out that "women saying we're in this institution and the traditional ways it has been designed aren't healthy for the female population" could be considered to be "banging down doors."

Managing the process

Identify uniqueness - Mentors identified women mentees as starting at "a lower base" and having to "come a longer way" to get to the same level as a man in Academe. Having been "cut down constantly", mentees were vulnerable, and "had less confidence." It thus became a matter of getting them to "feel good about themselves before you can get them thinking about wider world thoughts or ideas or possibilities." There was a sense that "at the first sign of resistance or the least sign of force," they could "retreat back in their own chair and (to) say nothing." At a minimum it was about having them "maintain themselves in a very male, I don't' want to use the word dominated, male university--to keep their confidence, to maintain themselves, not to feel overwhelmed." Not always labelled as a victim, a mentee's vulnerabilities and inabilities could also be attributed to getting "so mad, she'd get paralysed by her anger."

Demand high standards - In tension with the view that women mentees held a unique position which required special attention was mentors' insistence on high standards. After all, "If you are in the minority your standards have to be higher, you have to be more hard working. You've got to be more demanding of yourself in the first instance than the majority." Mentors valued their ability to give honest, straightforward encouragement. They did not want to practise "an instance of disrespect " or do a "disservice" to their mentees by encouraging them if their work were not satisfactory or if "they were on a path that was going to be extremely unproductive for her and her work." Mentors also wanted to know that a mentee would "put herself out" and not just wait to be given "all the energy." A mentor could be unsympathetic to a mentee who did not "throw herself wholeheartedly into things," preferring one who was " totally committed to me." Success in Academe was equated with "sacrifices;" ones which they suggested should not have to be made.

Managing the relationship

Share experiences - Mentors spoke of their special connectedness with women mentees. They could "get quite emotionally involved and be" far more comfortable in female company -- that whole thing of being relational of being able to kind of connect in a way and empathise." "A fund of shared experiences , life experiences" and having "the same kinds of issues at stake" fostered a special kind of intimacy. A mentor could say: "I know what it means to sit in front of a computer and -- help -- I know what it is to combine very young children" In the relationship mentors were "directly sharing (your) feelings, saying I know how you feel, this is what happened to me." There was a sense of "I've been there, so I probably, I think I can be there for her."

This affinity between mentors and women mentees contrasted with their relationship with male mentees in which it was a matter of "trying to keep one's distance," a "proper distance" because of "the sticky problem of sexuality." Especially "when you were younger, you had to be very careful to keep it on an academic discussion and academic level and you did get excluded if you tried to be more friendly, social, because they were men only -- you feel excluded, it's a men's club -- it could be so easily misunderstood." As well, there could be a sense that somehow the relationship with a male mentee "feels wrong," that "he wants to be or ought to be in a dominant position and he's not."

Draw lines - Despite the intimacy formed by sharing experiences, mentors drew a line. On the one hand, it was a "bit of a worry once people see your weaknesses and such." On the other hand, it could be "extremely dangerous" for the mentor to engage in "a blend of education and therapy." Mentors could end up "drained" and "getting quite exhausted by it and having to pull back especially when in one of the people's lives there was some really heavy shit going on." A mentor also could get herself into a position in which "because she was all the time dealing with this and that person's troubles, students and staff and things she didn't look after herself in terms of her own credentials." After "spending a lot of time supporting women ...they are now starting to tread on me, well that's what it felt like. They will actually in their desire to get where they want to go, use me." There came a stage at which a mentor could want the mentee "to fly a bit on her own now -- do things on her own. I guess I've been under pressure for so long, I want that responsibility off my hands for a bit. I don't want to be mummy forever."

Feel the hurt - Once mentors drew the line, they then had to face the repercussions from "a lot of women [who] come to us expecting us to care for their tender feelings and when we don't, get all upset and angry at us as though we aren't behaving as proper feminists." Just to be "a member of staff, to have tenure was to be the enemy of feminism." Similarly, to deal with issues successfully and to know how to deal with them could result in mentees "feeling threatened." It all seemed to be a process which over the years, left one feeling "ground down." As one woman said, "I can take shit from men,but I can't take it from women anymore.It hurts too much." It appeared that managing the relationship basically "implied a certain amount of hard skin".

DISCUSSION. Several relevant themes emerge from the findings. Perhaps the most interesting is the extent to which mentors' conceptions demonstrated their commitment to working with the system in order to demystify the 'foreign culture' for women. Regardless of their acceptance of the male dominated system, they expended a tremendous amount of energy in interpreting it for their mentees. A second theme emphasises control. It emerged as a basic key to success and survival in Academe for the mentors and for their mentees. These two perspectives are not congruent with a view of mentors' location as one of paralysis. Rather, there was an element of energised fatigue across the interviews, that is, they acted on their strong commitments yet felt the pressures of unavoidable, excessive, intense demands from both the mentees and the institution.

A third theme concerns the ability of the mentors to hold conflicting and contradictory conceptions of mentoring. One of the respondents spoke of women's superior ability to "juggle an incredible number of ideas at the same time" and these conceptions reflect that ability. For example, sharing experiences was central to the relationship, and within that, an acknowledgment of women's unique position and vulnerabilities. At the same time however, that conception was in tension with the notion that it is important to act as a gatekeeper of excellence for the Academy. In other words, their responses indicated mentors' location as both 'same' and 'other', as both accommodators and resistors. It appeared that mentors were aware, sometimes painfully aware, of the tensions and contradictions of these positions.

Finally, it is interesting to note the homogeneity of the views of women in both New Zealand/Aotearoa and England. Although the qualitative data do not yield truly useful comparative results, it suggests a gobalisation of university culture which may speak both to women's experience of Academe and an elite, Eurocentric classism of the institutions.

CONCLUSION. This paper has briefly presented the theoretical framework and empirical findings of a study which explored women mentors conceptions of mentoring women in the Academy. The findings highlighted the subtle tensions and contradictions which those mentors experience but which are not discussed in the literature. Although the data suggest that women mentors are not merely passive receivers of the patriarchal system, they continue to raise questions about the extent to which women within the academy have either the ability or desire to transform it.

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RATIONALITY AND EMOTIONS IN TRANSFORMATIVE LEARNING THEORY: A NEUROBIOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

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Abstract. Transformative learning as explained by Mezirow has been criticized as a process that is too rationally driven and minimizes the role of emotions and feelings. This paper further substantiates this criticism by exploring the emotional nature of rationality from the field of neurobiology, by offering a physiological explanation of the interdependent relationship of emotion and reason. Furthermore, these findings encourage the promotion of emotional literacy in the practice of fostering transformative learning.

Introduction. There has been a notable increase of scientific studies published over the last decade in neurobiology—life sciences that involve the anatomy, physiology, and pathology of the nervous system (Caine & Caine, 1994; Davidson & Cacioppo, 1992). One area in particular has focused on emotions and their relationship to cognitive processes in the human brain. These studies not only confirm what has long been known, that emotions can affect the processes of reason, but more importantly they reveal that emotions are indispensable for rationality. These new insights arrive at an opportune time in the ongoing research and debate of Mezirow's transformative learning theory. Recently, a review of related empirical studies in the field of adult education revealed a learning process that is not just rationally driven, but relies on the stimulation and resolution of feelings (Taylor, 1995). Despite the significance of these studies, their methods are limited in providing an in-depth explanation of the emotional nature of rationality. Therefore, the purpose of this paper is twofold: 1) to describe, from a physiological perspective, the interdependent relationship that exists between emotion and reason based on a review of the contemporary research in neurobiology, and 2) to demonstrate that the fostering of transformative learning not only rests on the practice of rational discourse, but must include the practice of promoting emotional literacy.

This paper begins with a brief overview of transformative learning theory including recent criticism about its over-reliance on rationality and lack of emphasis on emotions and feelings. This section is followed by a neurobiological explanation of the emotional nature of rationality. The paper concludes with an argument that fostering transformative learning must not only include the practice of critical reflection and rational discourse but the promotion of emotional literacy.

Transformative Learning Theory: Learning as Rational. Transformative learning is defined as a psychocultural process of construing and appropriating a new or revised interpretation of the meaning of one's experience which acts as a guide to one's actions (Mezirow, 1995). The process of making meaning is shaped and circumscribed by meaning structures. It is the revision of meaning structures from experiences that is addressed by the theory of perspective transformation. Seen as essential to this revision is critical reflection and rational discourse. Critical reflection is the reassessment of the very nature, consequence and origin of our meaning structures—our orientation to perceiving, knowing, believing, feeling, and acting. It "is a process by which we attempt to justify our beliefs, either by rationally examining assumptions, often in response to intuitively becoming aware that something is wrong with the result of our thought, or challenging its validity through discourse with others of differing viewpoints and arriving at the best informed judgment" (Mezirow, 1995, p. 46). Of the empirical studies that explored transformative learning, many concur with Mezirow on one level, that critical reflection is important to transformative learning. However, on another level they find critical reflection granted too much importance, a process too rationally driven, that overlooks the role of feelings and emotions (Taylor, 1995). Criticism of Mezirow's over-reliance on rationality has led to several studies that have demonstrated the essentiality of feelings of "other ways of knowing" in transformative learning. These studies refer to their significance, such as intuition (Brooks, 1989), affective learning (Clark, 1991; Scott, 1991; Sveinunggaard, 1993) and the guiding force of feelings (Hunter, 1980; Taylor, 1994). The Group for Collaborative Inquiry (1994), in a recent study reconceptualizing the transformative learning process, identified the significance of whole person learning— "awareness and use of all the functions we have available for knowing, including our cognitive, affective, somatic, intuitive, and spiritual dimensions" (p. 171). Sveinunggaard (1993), in a study exploring the role of affective learning in a transformation, found that participants could not act on cognitive learning until they had engaged in "learning how to identify, explore, validate, and express affect . . ." (p. 278). These studies clearly show that the emphasis on rationality by Mezirow is imbalanced, and much more attention needs to be given to the emotional nature of transformative learning. Despite the significant insight that these studies reveal about the role of feelings in transformative learning, they are limited in describing the intricate relationship of the emotional nature of rationality. However, recent research in the field of neurobiology brings to light a physiological explanation such that reason and decision making are not only shown to be dependent upon emotion, but cannot function adequately without recognition of feelings.

Reason and Emotion: A Physiological Perspective. In the field of neurobiology, reason, the basis for rationality, has been traditionally perceived as a high order function located in the neocortical area of the brain operating as a single system, a process based on valid rules of inference like rules of grammar (Johnson-Laird & Oatley, 1992). In contrast, emotions, feelings representative of distinctive psychological and biological states, have been viewed as low order functions, separate from reason, located in the subcortical structures (amygdala and related limbic systems) of the brain. When discussing cognitive processes, emotions are omitted, often considered too elusive, despite their qualifying nature in the process of reason (Damasio, 1994).

Historically, the study of emotions and their relationship with reasoning goes as far back as Descartes, who had a dualist notion of the body and the mind and classed emotions as perceptions of events inside the body. He argued a "separation of the most refined operations of the mind from the structure and operation of a biological organism" (Damasio, 1994, p. 250). William James (1890) continued in this direction, explaining emotions as the result of a perceived bodily change in response to an exciting event. As an individual perceives the event it produces a bodily change and, in turn, these changes flow back to the brain and give rise to a feeling about the stimulus. The feeling is the emotion. As brain research became more sophisticated Cannon (1931) criticized James, arguing that bodily changes were too slow and not specific enough to account for emotional experiences. Furthermore, he argued, based on research with cats, that the brain possessed a special system, the hypothalamus, for processing emotions. Papez (1937), extending Cannon's work, postulated an emotional system, a circuit theory, in the brain involving hypothalamus, anterior thalamus, cingulate cortex and the hippocampus. In 1952 Maclean went further, and argued the existence of the limbic system, "a group of phylogentically old cortical structures located in the medial walls of the cerebral hemisphere . . . forming an integrated neural system involved in the mediation of all aspects of emotion" (LeDoux, 1989, p. 268-9). This view of a unified system of emotions separate from cognition dominates to this day despite little evidence to support: (a) the evolutionary concept on which the limbic system was built, (b) that it operates as a singular system, and (c) that the hippocampus is more involved in emotional functions than cognitive processes (Damasio, 1994; LeDoux, 1989).

Contemporary research is revealing a more integrated relationship between the physiological process of cognition and emotion. LeDoux (1989) argues that cognition and emotion are mediated by separate and interacting systems of the brain. Emotions reside predominantly in the amygdala and interact via the hippocampus and the neocortex with the cognitive processes of the brain. Parrot and Schulkin (1993) go even further and argue that the continued separation of emotions from cognition perpetuates the belief that emotions are less complex and primitive. Instead emotions should be recognized as inherently cognitive, because research shows that "emotions anticipate future needs, prepare for actions, and even prepare for thinking certain types of thoughts" (p. 56). The functions of emotions are seen more and more as filling the "gaps left by 'pure reason' in the determination of action and belief..." (de Sousa, 1991, p. 195).

A possible physiological explanation of how emotion and reason intersect can be explained through an actual event, such as making a decision about which job offer to take. The process begins with a conscious deliberation and evaluation of verbal and nonverbal images (mental dispositions) that you hold about the various job offers. The mental images are formed by a collection of separate topographical representations in different sensory cortices (visual, auditory, language, etc...) of the brain. On a nonconscious level the prefrontal cortex automatically responds to signals arising from the processing of the different images (amygdala and anterior cingulate). These responses emanate from acquired dispositional representations, knowledge pertaining to the pairing of certain situations (job offers) with certain emotional responses. Also activated by these images are: nuclei of the autonomic system generating reactions of internal organs; the motor system of the skeletal structure creating facial expression of the related emotion, and the brain stem and basal forebrain which release chemical messages to different regions from the basal ganglia and cerebral cortex. It is the changes initiated by chemical processes that have a major impact on the style and efficiency of cognitive processing, ultimately influencing the decision of which job offer to choose. Damasio (1994) sees "the essence of emotion as the collection of changes in body state that are induced in myriad organs by nerve cell terminals, under the control of a dedicated brain system, which is responding to the content of thoughts relative to a particular entity or event" (p. 139). He goes even further and argues that there are a collection of systems in the human brain that are dedicated to goal-oriented thinking processes (reason and decision-making) with a special emphasis on the social and personal domain. In particular, he believes that there is a region (anterior cingulate cortex—another piece of the limbic system) "where the systems concerned with emotion/feeling, attention, and working memory interact so intimately that they constitute the source for the energy of both external action (movement) and internal action (thought animation, reasoning)" (p. 71).

A traditional view of rationality, reason, or formal logic assumes that decision-making devoid of emotions and unencumbered by passions will provide the best available solution for a problem. However, without emotions rationality cannot work. Purely objective reasoning would result in an endless listing and exploration of various options, the need for perfect mental models, and an inordinate amount of time and memory capacity. "No logic determines salience: what to notice, what to attend to, what to inquire about. And no inductive logic can make strictly rational choices..." (de Sousa, 1991, p. 192-3). There is another problem: We know too much. How is one able to access knowledge and ignore what is not relevant? It is emotions that limit what the brain will take into account, determined by patterns of salience (value) from the choices and options of almost limitless possibilities. Emotions establish the agenda for desires and beliefs. They are metaphorically judgments, determining the criteria of which we view the world. Emotions can be understood as "guiding the process of reasoning—or distorting them, depending on the describer's assessment of their appropriateness" (de Sousa, 1991, p. 197). Without emotion, individuals are unable to coordinate their behavior, respond to emergencies, prioritize goals, prepare for proper action, and make progress towards goals—incapable of filling the gaps often found in the slow and error-prone process of objective rationality (Johnson-Laird & Oatley, 1992).

Contemporary research in the area of brain pathology, specifically about patients who have experienced neurological disease and trauma to the prefrontal cortex, add support and clarity to the nontraditional relationship of emotions and reason (Damasio, 1994; Gardner, 1983). Despite their intact intelligence and apparent cognitive abilities these impaired individuals regularly make self-destructive decisions in their lives and obsess endlessly over the simplest decision. This inability to think rationally, reason and decide, is due to a view of life that takes on a gray neutrality, devoid of necessary emotional memory and learning. Two experiments, skin conductant and gambling, carried out with both prefrontal damage patients and patients with no brain pathology, provide clarity of the emotional nature of rationality. Skin conductant experiments (electrodes connected to the skin and a polygraph) involve measuring the autonomical responses to a succession of slides (pictures of bland scenery patterns with randomly interspersed slides of disturbing images). When prefrontal damage patients were compared to patients with no damage, prefrontal patients failed to generate any sensory response whatsoever to the disturbing images, even though on a cognitive level they were able to describe the difference of the slides.

Gambling experiments involve playing a game of cards between the researcher and the patient where few rules of how the game is played are shared with the patient. As the game evolves the patient is to develop an understanding of the pattern of the game. The game, in essence, reflects real time, factors in punishment and reward (loss or gain of money), encourages the patient to find a pattern of advantage, poses risks, and offers options, but the researcher does not tell the patient how or what or why to choose. The experiment is full of uncertainty, and the only way not to lose money is to generate rational possibilities and estimate odds. The prefrontal lobe patients responded in direct contrast to the patients with no damage by continually losing money in these experiments even though on a cognitive level they knew which decks were more risky than the other. When combining skin conductant and gambling experiments, looking for patterns of autonomic responses during an actual game, over time normal patients demonstrated a learned response to negative and positive experiences, and in an anticipatory fashion attempted to choose what would or would not be a good move as the game progressed. However, prefrontal patients showed no anticipatory response, and were unable to develop salient patterns (values) of predictions of negative or positive future outcomes (Damasio, 1994; Calvin & Ojeman, 1994). In essence, without the emotional value that gives salience to positive and negative decisions, people are unable to reason. This research reveals a view of rationality that evolves from multiple systems, both high and low order functions, working in collaboration with each other and where emotions are seen as essential and interrelated in the process of decision-making.

These new neurobiological findings provide support for the earlier studies on transformative learning theory that feelings play an integral role in the process of a perspective transformation and need to be given equal attention on the same footing as rational thought and discourse. Furthermore, by recognizing the essentiality of affective learning these findings offer a new direction for fostering transformative learning, a practice framed by Mezirow in the ideal conditions of rational discourse. Rational discourse embodies objectivity, promotes the practice of maintaining personal distance, logical analysis and reason, and gives minimal attention to feelings. What is lacking in rational discourse is addressed in the study and promotion of emotional literacy—the development of emotional intelligence where people manage their emotions well and can interpret and deal effectively with other people's feelings (Goleman, 1995).

> People with well developed emotional skills are also more likely to be content and effective in their lives, mastering the habits of mind that foster their own productivity; people who cannot marshal some control over their emotional life fight inner battles that sabotage their ability for focused work and clear thought. (p. 36)

The practice of emotional literacy offers adult education practitioners a new approach for improving upon the challenging practice of fostering transformative learning. It addresses the limitations of rational discourse through the promotion of emotional understanding.

The Fostering of Transformative Learning and Emotional Literacy. The practice of fostering transformative learning in a educational setting is based on literature that outlines ideal conditions for rational discourse, the teacher's and student's role, and the related instructional approaches (Mezirow, 1991, 1995; Mezirow & Associates, 1991). Transformative learning provides the foundation for a philosophy of adult education resulting in a prescription of educational interventions that promote adult learning. Mezirow believes that the most significant learning occurs in the communicative domain which "involves identifying problematic ideas, values, beliefs, and feelings, critically examining the assumptions upon which they are based, testing their justification through rational discourse and making decisions predicated upon the resulting consensus (1995, p. 58). A recent review of empirical studies of transformative learning confirmed to some extent teaching strategies, such as teacher roles (empathetic), methods (student-centered), and learning conditions (safe & supportive) (Taylor, 1995). In a related study, Pierce (1986) found that workshop facilitators believed that to expand a person's perspective it was important to place as "much value on the emotional and experiential component of the learning process as the cognitive and intellectual elements" (p. 273). Unfortunately, even though Mezirow in his latest publication gives greater recognition to feelings in transformative learning, he not only fails to recognize the interdependent relationship between emotion and rationality, but more importantly, he fails to inform the practitioner of how to promote emotional understanding—emotional literacy.

Emotional literacy is defined as helping people build and expand their emotional intelligence. More specifically it includes promoting the following abilities: (a) the ability of immediate self-awareness, recognizing a feeling as it happens, understanding the causes of feelings and being able to separate feelings from actions; (b) the ability to manage the sometimes obstreperous nature of emotions, which involves more effective anger management and tolerance for frustration; (c) the productive utilization of emotions which involves marshaling emotions in the service for focusing attention, self-motivation, delayed gratification, and more self-control; (d) the ability to empathize, reading emotions of others, reflecting their needs and wants by taking another's perspective and through active listening; and (e) the ability to handle relationships, the skill in managing emotions in others (Goleman, 1995). Another interpretation of emotional intelligence can be seen in one of Gardner's (1983) multiple intelligences, that of personal intelligence. Similar to the earlier research mentioned on brain pathology, one of his criteria for each intelligence is that it can be biologically isolated in the brain. Personal intelligence, a core capacity, is having:

> *access to one's own feeling life*—one's range of affects or emotions: the capacity instantly to effect discriminations among these feelings and, eventually, to label them, to enmesh them in symbolic codes, to draw upon them as a means of understanding and guiding one's behavior. (p. 239)

He believes that for people to interact appropriately with others and secure a proper place within a society it is essential that they come to understand their feelings, related responses, and the behaviors of others.

Promoting emotional intelligence in the practice of fostering transformative learning includes continuing some of the same methods that Mezirow (1991) has outlined but, in addition, focuses more attention on developing emotional self-awareness, the management of emotions in one's self and others, and the building of relationships. This includes metacognitive activities that promote emotional expression and exploration through collaborative learning, conflict management, developing multiple perspectives, role-playing, and peer networks (Campbell, Campbell, & Dickinson, 1992; Sylwester, 1994). Furthermore, "it is essential to establish a positive classroom environment, to recognize the range of feelings students experience, to teach appropriate methods of emotional expression, and to offer feedback on emotional behavior" (Campbell, Campbell, & Dickinson, 1992, p. 151). It means that in the practice of fostering transformative learning, rational discourse has to include the discussion and exploration of feelings in concert with decision-making. Feelings and rationality need to be placed on equal footing, recognizing their interdependent relationship.

Conclusion. The study of emotions and rationality from the field of neurobiology offers adult education research, a practice often devoid of the hard sciences, a more in-depth perspective of essential constructs of transformative learning theory. In particular, research reveals the existence of an interdependent relationship between emotion and rationality, each interacting with the other in the process of logic and reason. These findings add support to previous studies in the area of transformative learning on the essentiality of affective learning in the process of a perspective transformation. Furthermore, they encourage the promotion of emotional literacy in the practice of fostering transformative learning.

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FEMINIST PEDAGOGY AND ADULT LEARNING: UNDERLYING THEORY AND EMANCIPATORY PRACTICE

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Abstract: This paper examines the theoretical underpinnings of various strands of feminist pedagogy and its relationship to adult learning around issues of the construction of knowledge, authority, voice, and dealing with difference.

The feminist pedagogy literature is beginning to have an influence on the field of adult education. But there are many strands of feminist pedagogy, each informed by different strands of feminist theory, critical theory/pedagogy, and/or afrocentric or other emancipatory educational theories. While there is increasing reference to the feminist pedagogy literature in the field, there has been little attention to the underlying theoretical perspectives that inform what is being discussed as "feminist pedagogy" and its relationship to some of the adult learning literature. In order to fill this gap, the purpose of this paper is two-fold: (1) to examine some of the underlying theoretical perspectives of the various strands of feminist pedagogy in relationship to both feminist theory, and the traditional theories of adult learning including, andragogy, perspective transformation, and the more radical theories of social transformation, and (2) to discuss what the feminist pedagogy literature can offer to a more inclusive adult emancipatory education theory in practice.

The various strands of feminist pedagogy are influenced by differing feminist theoretical frameworks or educational models (Maher, 1987). All the strands are concerned with how to educate women for their emancipation, and all emphasize the importance of connection and relationship in the educational process. In addition, four recurrent themes come up in the feminist pedagogy literature as a whole: (1) how knowledge is constructed, (2) voice, (3) authority; and (4) how to deal with differences (particularly based on gender, race, ethnicity, class, physical and mental ability, sexual orientation). Different strands have different assumptions about what "emancipation" means as well as how it happens, and thus emphasize one or more of these four recurrent themes over others, but all of the strands or models at least give passing attention to these themes.

I have divided the following discussion of the examination of the feminist pedagogy and adult learning literature into three parts, based on the theoretical underpinnings of each of the strands. The first part examines the models of feminist pedagogy with a psychological orientation. Part 2 examines those with a structural or sociological orientation, where part 3 both synthesizes the models and examines those models that are influenced more by poststructuralism. The discussion of each of these models will examine the theoretical underpinnings, which of the four recurrent themes of feminist pedagogy are emphasized, the relationship of these models of feminist pedagogy to the wider adult learning literature, and the implications for practice.

Models with a Psychological Orientation. There is a wide body of literature that focuses specifically on how to create an environment where women (in the generic sense) can come to voice, can come to see themselves as constructors of knowledge, in an atmosphere of psychological safety. These discussions of feminist pedagogy focus on women's socialization as nurturers, and suggest that women are safer to come to voice in groups where either (1) their ways of knowing are foregrounded, and that privileges the discussion of their experiences specifically as women; or (2) there are not men present.

The psychologically oriented models of feminist pedagogy are concerned about women's emancipation in the sense that they focus on women's individual development as learners and their emancipation in the personal psychological sense, but these models are not emancipatory in the sense of having a primary concern with collective social change. These models do not emphasize or really examine power relations of the larger social structure and their effects on education. This is probably because the theoretical underpinnings of these models are both liberal feminism and psychoanalytic feminism, neither of which deal with systemic change. Liberal feminism has primarily been concerned with giving women as individuals equal rights and privileges to men--with helping women get access to the institutions and systems of privilege that men have created and had access to, including the education and employment systems, the way that these systems are currently structured. Psychoanalytic feminism, which emphasizes the unconscious effects of patriarchy in gender socialization and helping women get in touch with those unconscious effects also inform the underlying theory of these models of feminist pedagogy. Clearly psychoanalytic feminism has affinities with humanistic psychology, which emphasizes the importance of psychological safety and individual growth and development in this emancipatory growth process. While the theoretical orientations that undergird these psychologically oriented models of feminist pedagogy are all concerned with the psychological and developmental emancipation of women, these underlying theories do not fundamentally challenge social structures, or deal with systemic or structural social change. They rather focus on women's individual emancipation within the current systemic or structural conditions.

Belenky, Clinchy, Goldberger, and Tarule's (1986) book, Women's Ways of Knowing, has probably been the most significant single work that has influenced the more psychologically oriented feminist pedagogy literature. In this study, Belenky et al. found that many women learned best and were more likely to recognize their own ability to construct knowledge in environments that emphasize connected teaching and learning, that examined their life experience as well as cognitive concepts. It is also in these connected teaching/learning situations that many women came to recognize and hear their own voices. The role of the teacher in such connected situations is to function as midwife and to draw the student out. Even in this role, the teacher has responsibility and some authority. Such authority, however, is based on cooperation rather than subordination, and is shared with the participants in the learning environment.

Three of the four recurrent themes of feminist pedagogy--issues of how knowledge is constructed, the development of voice, the authority of the teacher as midwife and as shared with participants--are evident in their discussion. But the discussion of these issues tends to have a more individual or psychological focus. Belenky et al. center on how women construct knowledge more as individuals in a small community of support where relationships are valued, rather than focus on the larger social and political mechanisms that affect what kind of "knowledge" is recognized as "official," and how such knowledge is produced and disseminated. Certainly their discussion of the development of voice is focused more at the individual level as well, and the discussion of authority focuses on the sharing of the authority of the teacher/facilitator with learners. However, Belenky et al., and all psychologically oriented models of feminist pedagogy, do not adequately deal with the differences among women, nor are structural power relations based on race, class, or sexual orientation dealt with at all. Of the four themes of feminist pedagogy, discussion of how to deal with difference is mentioned only in passing. Thus, issues for women of color or working-class women tend to remain mostly invisible, since these models tend to want to focus on the similarities among women. These models don't in any way attempt to deal with the effects of white privilege or heterosexual privilege in the creation of the so-called "safe" learning environment for women. Thus if white women are in the majority or perhaps even present at all, they are probably a lot "safer" than the women of color. However, this is not to suggest the teaching strategies advocated by those operating from these models don't apply to women of color as well, for Collins (1991) emphasizes the importance of connection, relationship and analysis of life experience to black women's learning.

Since these models are based largely on liberal feminist and psychoanalytic feminist theoretical frames, many of the criticism of these frames also apply to these models of pedagogy, and these frames have been criticized as being based on the needs of white, middle-class women (Tong, 1989). In spite of such criticisms, many use pedagogical strategies (such as dyads, small group activities, role plays that emphasize aspects of women's life experience) based on these psychologically oriented models of feminist pedagogy very successfully in mixed gender, race, and ethnicity groups, but it is primarily the similarities of the group that are emphasized and not the differences. Nevertheless, it is important to note the creation of the so called "safe" environment is more of a construction of white privilege, and unless a group is made up of members of the same racially marginalized group, the environment is much "safer" for white women.

Clearly there are aspects of what is advocated by these psychologically oriented models of feminist pedagogy that sound similar to what has been traditionally advocated as good adult education practice. The emphasis on the needs of the learner and the relationship of cognitive learning with life experience, and shared authority of teachers/facilitators and learners sounds similar to Knowles' conception of andragogy. An important difference, however, between andragogy, which literally focuses on how to teach men ("andro" literally meaning man), and these forms of feminist pedagogy is the latter's emphasis on learners' life experience specifically as women. Thus, there are attempts in these models to try to abate the male privilege factor in the creation of the safe environment, which Knowles' or humanistically oriented discussions of good adult education practices don't account for. There are also aspects of these forms of feminist pedagogy that sound similar to perspective transformation, and clearly the process of learning that Belenky et al. describe does encourage women learners to grow, develop into what they call "constructed knowers". But as many have suggested, Mezirow's emphasis has focused on rationality and has tended to ignore the emotional aspects of learning. These models of feminist pedagogy emphasize the significance of affective forms of knowing as well as rationality in the process of developing into constructed knowers. Thus, while there are similarities between these psychologically oriented models of feminist pedagogy and some of these often discussed theories of adult learning, there are significant differences as well.

Models with a Sociological/Structural Orientation There is a wide body of feminist pedagogy literature that deals with the nature of structured power relations and interlocking systems of oppression and privilege based on gender and the intersections of race, class, sexual orientation, and so on and how these intersecting systems of privilege and oppression affect what goes on in the classroom. In these models of feminist pedagogy with a sociological/structural orientation where the effects of these interlocking systems of privilege and oppression are foregrounded, the differences, as well as the similarities, among women (and all participants) become apparent. From this perspective, the structural models of feminist pedagogy emphasize what the psychologically oriented models downplay--the theme of difference and how to deal with it. While women's experience may be foregrounded, the differences based on race, class, and sexual orientation between women are also foregrounded, and systems of privilege, such as white privilege, become visible. These models attempt to account for and deal with why it is that women and all people of color and people from working-class backgrounds are often silenced, absent, or their contributions overlooked and/or discounted in the public arenas of our society, including in government, industry, education, in the classroom at all educational levels, and in the knowledge production process. In short, the specific intent of feminist pedagogy informed by these models is social transformation and structural social change.

The theoretical underpinnings of these models of feminist pedagogy are structural feminist theories including radical feminism, marxist feminism, and socialist feminism. Each of these structural feminist theories focuses on an examination of societal structures that affect women. The concern of radical feminism has been primarily with patriarchy as a form of structural oppression, marxist feminism's concern has been the twin systems of patriarchy and capitalism, whereas socialist feminism has been concerned with challenging multiple systems of oppression, including patriarchy, capitalism, and white supremacy. In addition to being influenced by these structural feminist theories, these structurally oriented models are influenced by Freire's (1971) work and the work of other critical theorists and writers in the realm of critical pedagogy. However, these structurally oriented models of feminist pedagogy more directly deal with gender, and the intersections of gender and with race, class, and sexual orientation issues in the learning environment than most writers of critical pedagogy do. Structural systems of privilege and oppression and their presence and effect on the learning environment is emphasized in these models, where individualistic understandings of learning are downplayed, and issues of psychological safety issues in the learning environment are underplayed or ignored. A criticism of the structural theories has been that they focus too much on structures, and do not account for the individual's capacity for agency, the capacity to have some control outside of these social structures, which perhaps the individually and psychologically oriented feminisms may account for better.

Black feminist writer bell hooks' earlier work (hooks, 1989), is probably quite representative of the structurally oriented models of feminist pedagogy. Hooks notes:

> "It is a model of pedagogy that is based on the assumption that many students will take courses from me who are afraid to assert themselves as critical thinkers, who are afraid to speak (especially students from oppressed and exploited groups). The revolutionary hope that I bring to the classroom is that it will become a space where they can come to voice. Unlike the stereotypical model that suggests women best come to voice in an atmosphere of safety (one in which we are all going to be kind and nurturing), I encourage students to work at coming to voice in an atmosphere where they may be afraid or see themselves at risk" (hooks, 1989, p. 53).

All four of the recurrent themes of feminist pedagogy--the construction of knowledge, how to deal with difference, voice, and authority, are central to these structurally oriented models. In the above quote by hooks (1989), we see evidence of the fact that a primary focus of these models is dealing with differences, based on race, class, as well as gender. But the other three recurrent themes are also evident in these models. There is an emphasis still on the theme of voice, on students coming to voice as critical thinkers. The issue of authority is discussed in these models, but there is more of a recognition that while authority can be shared, it is impossible to completely do away with the authority of the instructor, so the emphasis is more on appropriate uses of authority. With regard to the construction of knowledge, rather than focusing on how individual women construct knowledge, the structurally oriented models of feminist pedagogy focus on the political and social mechanisms that have controlled the knowledge production process and have marginalized (or left out) the contributions of women and people of color. Those operating from these models of feminist pedagogy attempt to give voice to women and people of color, by validating their forms of knowledge by foregrounding the work of women and people of color and including it in their course curricula, as well as by encouraging their active classroom participation. These are some of the strategies of working for social change.

Some of the issues addressed by these models of feminist pedagogy have begun to be addressed by writers in the field of adult education. Hayes and Colin (1992) have recently edited a book that addresses some race and gender issues in the field of adult education in general, where issues around the construction and dissemination of "knowledge" is dealt with. And certainly Freire's work and Hart's work calls attention to some issues related power and privilege in the learning environment. But there is precious little work that calls addresses how to deal with difference based on the intersections of gender, race, class, in the learning environment. In the final section, I will attempt to synthesizes both the psychological and structural models of feminist pedagogy in a brief discussion of what I am calling poststructural feminist pedagogies can offer the field of adult learning.

Poststructural Feminist Pedagogies and Adult Learning: Synthesizing the Models. A synthesis of both the psychologically oriented and the structural models of feminist pedagogy, along with additional insights from feminist poststructural theory and critical pedagogy around the interrelated themes of (1) the construction of knowledge, (2) voice, (3) authority, and (4) how to deal with difference, offers both theoretical and practical direction to the adult educator who is interested in developing feminist emancipatory educational strategies. A synthesis of these models in the form of poststructural feminist pedagogies would take into account both the intellectual and emotional components to learning, the individual's capacity for agency, as well as the psychological and social and political factors that affect learning. It would emphasize the importance of relationship and connection to learning, but also account for the fact that power relations based on a multitude of factors including gender, race, and class are always present in the learning environment and affect both how knowledge is constructed on the individual level as well as the social and political factors that affect what counts as "official" knowledge and how it is disseminated.

There is an emerging body of literature (for example, hooks, 1994; Maher & Tetreault, 1994) that offers some insight to developing what I am calling "poststructural feminist pedagogies". This literature is based on the theoretical underpinnings of feminist poststructuralism, which emphasizes people's capacity for agency, as well the intersections of many forms of oppression and privilege, particularly in regard to how women construct "truth". There is no one Truth, but each person's "truth" is relative and contextually dependent on cultural and social factors. Certainly these poststructural feminist pedagogies are also influenced by critical pedagogy, but as several authors have noted (cf. Luke & Gore, 1992), much of the critical pedagogy literature (both in adult education and in the wider field of education) only gives passing reference to gender. Much of it also tends to emphasize rationality, and does not give much attention to the affective factors that affect learning.

Given the emphasis in feminist poststructuralism both to multiple constructions of "truth" and the significance of multiple systems of oppression and privilege that affect learning, poststructural feminist pedagogies emphasize both issues of how to deal with difference and issues of the construction of knowledge, as well as voice, and authority. Maher & Tetreault (1994) cite one of the professor participants in their study of feminist classrooms who described her style of feminist pedagogy as helping students to "see with a third eye". "The 'third eye' is a form of theorizing, but rather than reflecting either a universalized mode of thought..., or one that is personal or psychological, ... this way of knowing [has] a positional cast..." (Maher & Tetreault, 1994, p. 202). To see with a third eye is to recognize that the self (or the author) constructs knowledge in relation to others, and both the self and others are situated and positioned within social structures where they are multiplied and simultaneously privileged and oppressed. These social structures and power relations affect not only how knowledge has been produced and disseminated in the society at large, but also affect how individuals construct knowledge and come to voice, which foregrounds the connection between the individual and the social context.

A synthesis of these models in the form of poststructural feminist pedagogies suggests emphasizes both the psychological and the structural factors that affect learning. What poststructural feminist pedagogies do is point to the connections between the psychological and the structural, so the connections between these factors become the primary unit of analysis in attempting to facilitate emancipatory adult learning. These pedagogies call attention to the importance of challenging power relations in the learning environment by both attending to what is included in the curriculum, and by structuring the environment in such a way that encourages students who have been historically marginalized by the intersections of gender, race, and class to come to voice. Clearly to teach in a way that directly challenges systems of privilege and oppression and to directly call attention to issues of gender, race, class, and sexual orientation is uncomfortable. But this is the work of emancipatory education, the work of education that attempts to be both psychological and social transformative, which is neither easy nor comfortable. While there is not a cookbook approach to how to do this, I have discussed a few suggestions for how to teach from a poststructural feminist perspective elsewhere (Tisdell, 1995), and some of the authors referenced throughout serve as good sources (cf. hooks, 1994; Maher & Tetreault, 1995). Clearly, a major task for adult educators who want to teach for both individual and social transformation is to do what the instructor in the Maher and Tetreault (1994) study referred to as helping students (and ourselves) see with the "third eye". It is possible to work for "education as the practice of freedom" (hooks, 1994) and that it is possible to create a classroom that is a democratic setting, where everyone does have a voice. Hooks discusses the importance of building community that is based both on openness and intellectual rigor, but she notes "Rather than focusing on issues of safety, I think that a feeling of community creates a sense that there is shared commitment and a common good that binds us" (p. 40). Hopefully, the continued development of the theory and practice of poststructural feminist pedagogies along with other adult emancipatory pedagogies will help us work toward that common good. May we continually find "the third eye" in the process.

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UNIVERSITY FACULTY AND INFORMATION LITERACY

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Abstract: This descriptive study surveyed faculty and academic professionals at the University of Wyoming and looked at the ways in which faculty acquire the information they need and the ways in which they require or encourage students to access and use information. The findings describe the characteristics and roles of faculty who use technology for information access and describe how and what resources they use. Recommendations for further investigation are made.

BACKGROUND: New technologies to find, store, manipulate and transmit information with amazing speed have provided access to world wide resources via the information superhighway. But this exponential proliferation of data can make faculty feel overwhelmed and almost paralyzed from an information overload. According to Gilbert (1994), faculty may often feel vulnerable, disempowered, and frustrated when confronted with new technologies that may be difficult to use or unreliable. For faculty and other academic professionals to be proactive rather than reactive consumers in the information society, they must become information literate. They need a lifelong ability to acquire, understand, and manage information. Hall, President of Empire State University acknowledges that instruction at universities has remained largely untouched by the technology revolution. He proposed the necessity for a university of convergence to integrate technologies and instruction.

> Students in the university of convergence will learn to engage with information, understand how to use it, and gain the skills and intellectual competencies associated with a university graduate. ...The (faculty) role of intellectual guide to this student, or mentor, will become more important...(1995)

Currently, there are very few resources that help faculty develop these skills. If faculty have limited information access skills, how do they train students to effectively perform their life roles in relation to information usage?

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE: A review of the literature about higher education faculty and information access skills produced little. Limited research has been conducted by library and information science professionals but tended to focus only on the librarian's role in working with faculty. The literature was especially sparse concerning faculty information access skills related to recent technological developments. A look at some of the literature over the past years revealed an incomplete picture of information literacy. Some literature speculated on how faculty and researchers formulate plans for becoming literate in the future.

In the mid 1970s it was estimated that more than 1000 papers had been published on behavior and information use (Crawford, 1978). In the mid 1980s most of the research that addressed how students and faculty in higher education looked for information was done by librarians who were interested in information seeking behavior and were conducted in specific disciplines such as the social sciences or engineering and in general higher education academic environments. Essentially the research of the past ten years pointed to the same generalizations about how faculty and students seek information today (Edwards, 1994). Librarians focus on how librarians teach information literacy, not how faculty teach those skills. Only now are a few researchers looking beyond librarians' roles and responsibilities for teaching information access skills. Because the process today includes technologies and resources not available previously, this study looked at some of the new tools as well as the traditional access methods used by faculty. Given the nature of information production and use, faculty must play a more significant role as facilitators of access.

PURPOSE: The purpose of this study, then, was to investigate the ways in which faculty currently access and use information. To meet this purpose, three research questions were developed: 1) What resources do faculty use to get the information they need? 2) What are the characteristics of faculty who use technology to access information? 3) In what ways do faculty encourage students to use information technology?

METHOD: A descriptive survey was designed to provide an initial overview of the problem. The sample for this study was all professors, associate professors, assistant professors and academic professionals at the University of Wyoming as identified by the UW Office of Institutional Analysis. A total of 945 surveys were mailed. All surveys strictly adhered to Dillman's (1978) design for questionnaires. The surveys were sent via campus mail as well as to some home addresses. These descriptive data were analyzed using SPSS-X, a Statistical Package for the Social Sciences for frequencies and means. The survey consisted of 16 (some multiple part) questions.

FINDINGS: Three hundred thirteen surveys were returned for a 33% response rate. Four surveys were declared unusable so 309 surveys were used for data analysis. In an effort to gather demographic data, the first five questions asked respondents for their academic discipline, academic rank, sex, age and the year they received their terminal degree in an effort to gather demographic data.

All seven colleges in the University were represented: Arts and Sciences (37%), Agriculture (17%), Education (12%), Engineering (12%), Health Sciences (11%), Business (8%), and Law (1%). There were also 4 respondents from the ROTC on campus. All of the ranks were represented: Academic Professionals (20%), Assistant Professors(22%), Associate Professors (22%), and Professors (35%). Thirty-three percent of the respondents were women; 67% were men. In terms of when the respondents earned their terminal degree, 40% received their degree in the past ten years; 28% from 11 to 20 years ago; 28% from 21 to 30 years ago; and 4% over 30 years ago. Each of the above percentages are within 4% of the distribution of the entire population, therefore it was determined that the respondent population was representative of the target population in demographic terms. (The only exception was in rank where academic professionals comprised 29% of the entire population, but only 20% of the respondents.) In addition to this demographic information, the remaining questions provided some possible answers to the three original research questions. An examination of some of the questions provides more insight.

Question 6 asked about frequency of use for 20 information sources. Frequency was ranked from 1-5, with one being very often and 5 being never. Table 1 shows percentages of responses in the very often and the never categories.

Table 1

Ranking of Resources Used by Faculty

Resource	% used very often	% never used
books	70.2	1.6
professional journals	66.0	.6
notes, files and books in your office	71.6	0
colleagues	27.0	0.6
outside experts	10.0	2.6
abstracts and bibliographies	12.0	7.8
archives	1.6	36.2
government documents	7.8	18.4
university library	38.0	2.9
on-campus workshops/seminars	3.2	16.2
off-campus conventions/conferences	12.3	2.9
librarian	6.8	11.0
microforms (film and fiche)	1.9	22.0
technical reports	5.5	19.4
CARL (UW online catalog)	34.6	9.1
CD-ROM sources	8.1	34.0
Uncover (journal index on CARL)	12.3	43.0
Internet	35.3	20.7
browsing library shelves	12.0	15.9
public library	4.2	25.2

In question 7, ten information sources were listed. Respondents were asked if each source was required, encouraged or never mentioned in classes they taught. Table 2 shows percentages of responses for require and never mention for each source.

Table 2

Sources Faculty Require Students to Use or Never Mention

Source	Require	Never Mention
textbook	76%	3%
indexes and abstracts	12%	30%
UW library (in general)	38%	10%
CARL	22%	18%
Uncover	7%	52%
professional journals	44%	8%
CD-ROM sources	7%	50%
Internet	7%	44%
government documents	9%	43%
e-Mail	14%	42%

The next question focused on electronic sources. It asked if the faculty member used the Internet, how it was used, and how it was accessed. Seventy-five percent of the respondents reported using Internet, but primarily for electronic mail purposes. Users reported using e-mail to communicate with colleagues on campus (66%) and off campus (70%), but when communicating with students only 39% said they used e-mail. Thirty-five percent used the Internet to access or retrieve files or resources, 21% used LISTSERVs and 49% reported using Gopher, Veronica or Archie. While 41% accessed Internet through an Ethernet connection in their office, 37% still used a modem in their office and 27% used a modem from home to access the Internet.

Next respondents were asked about perceived barriers to obtaining the information they needed. Not surprisingly, time constraints were seen as the greatest barriers to access by 65% of respondents. Some 45% stated the second greatest barrier was the fact that their institution's library did not own the material they needed.

In light of perceived barriers to information access, the next questions asked respondents where they first looked for information, whether the information need was for personal, teaching or research reasons and how successful they felt they were in meeting their information needs. There were fifty-one different responses about where respondents looked first for information. The top response was a library (47%) followed by personal collections (23%) and electronic resources (11%). Concerning why faculty look for information, 47% listed research, 29% stated teaching, and 4% said for personal use. Almost 37% felt they were very successful in meeting their information needs and less than 5% felt unsuccessful.

The last four questions addressed the issues of how important information access skills are and whose responsibility it is to help students develop these skills. Almost 95% of the faculty ranked having information access skills as either essential or very important. Some 53% felt faculty played a very important role in helping students develop information access skills and 45% felt librarians were important to the process. When asked if they felt personally responsible for helping students develop access skills, 82% said yes. Question 16 asked about requiring or encouraging use of e-mail, the Internet and the library in classes. Almost 80% of the faculty reported requiring library use while 35% said they only encouraged its use. Thirty-five percent of the faculty required use of e-mail while 45% encouraged its use, and thirty-two percent required Internet use, with 57% encouraging its use.

DISCUSSION: The data indicated faculty continue to use traditional sources for information. Books remained the most used source for faculty information needs. Textbooks remained the predominant resource required in classes.

The faculty's reliance on traditional sources for information for their own needs may indicate that they are most comfortable acquiring and using information in the way they were trained. The fact that 50% of the faculty never mention CD-ROM Sources, 44% never mention the Internet as an information source, and 52% never mention the computer library catalog system are suggestive that faculty unintentionally pass on their biases when presenting information sources.

Perhaps more focused professional development opportunities for faculty need to be developed by libraries so that faculty can become familiar with technological resources in their specific discipline. Awareness must be developed so that faculty can refer students to library resources. This may be a needed step in order to help students seek out and use new information sources.

Characteristics of Faculty who use Technology: The ratio of users to non-users of the Internet is 4:1 for faculty 49 and under; 2:1 for ages 50-59; and 1:1 for faculty over 60. The ratios of users to non-users based on numbers of years since graduation with a terminal degree are as follows: 1-5 years--5:1; 6-10 years--4:1; 11-20 years--3.6:1; over 20 years 1.6:1.

While there appears to be a relationship or pattern developing, no predictions can really be made about use or non-use of the Internet depending on age or years since graduation. There appears to be a stronger connection to technology use in relationship to information needs. Faculty who declared research as a main need for information, tended to use more electronic means. Two patterns were observed: 1) recent graduates tended to use more electronic access such as the Internet and 2) the priority given by faculty to research influenced the likelihood of electronic access.

Faculty Role in Encouraging Students' Use of Information Technology: Even though 95% of respondents reported that information access skills are essential or very important, only 27% felt faculty were very important in helping students develop those skills. Many faculty (45%) apparently still rely on librarians to teach information access skills. Over half (64%) of the faculty put the responsibility of developing information skills on the students themselves.

While 82% of respondents said they felt personally responsible to help students develop the skills, less than one-third required e-mail, Internet and library use in their courses. The reason behind this contradiction between belief and practice needs to be explored.

By comparing the faculty's use of resources and those sources required of student use, the inference can be made that faculty ask students to use those sources that the faculty themselves use. Table 3 shows the comparison of sources used by faculty and those required of students.

Table 3

Faculty Use of Sources Vs. Those Required for Student Use

Source	% of Faculty Reporting Source Used Very Often	% of Sources Required for Student Used
Textbooks	70	76
CARL	35	22
Uncover	12	7
Professional Journals	66	44
CD-ROM sources	8	7
Government Documents	8	9
Internet	35	7

The percentage of most sources required of student use are quite close to how often the faculty report using them. There were two obvious discrepancies: professional journals and Internet. Professional journals often provide current research data for faculty and many are not intended primarily for undergraduate student use. The differences of faculty use of the Internet and requiring its use by students may be due to the newness of the source. Faculty may need time to become comfortable with this source before they incorporate its use in their classes.

CONCLUSION. This study explored the relationship of faculty to information access and use for their classroom and professional activities. If a university community wants to provide its students with information and technology skills to enhance their development, then faculty need to work to provide current resources and the technology for accessing them. Perhaps faculty need to a) more effectively communicate with students regarding resources they should consult, b) examine their course syllabi to determine areas in which they could facilitate student development through information technologies, and c) pay more attention to their own need for professional development relative to resources and processes.

Questions for further research include: Why have faculty not required students to move more quickly and proficiently in the use of e-mail, the Internet, and a library's technological resources? What are the barriers that inhibit change in reference to use of information resources? Faculty must investigate these and other questions in order to meet the demands of information access in the future for which students are preparing.

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COLLECTIVE STRUGGLES - COLLECTIVE LEARNING: A HISTORY OF WOMEN GARMENT WORKERS AND ADULT EDUCATION

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Abstract. Since early in the 20th century workers' education has been a vital part of the agenda of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union (ILGWU). This paper provides an overview of various aspects and examples of workers' education in the ILGWU primarily during the first half of the 20th century. It also argues that, although the historiography of North American adult education tends to marginalize workers' education, the efforts of the ILGWU are indeed contributory to the broader history of the field.

Since the dawn of mass production in industrial America garment manufacturing attracted and retained large numbers of immigrants, women and minority workers. Early in the 20th century thousands were employed in garment manufacturing hubs in the industrial northeastern United States, other major metropolitan areas and remote regions of the country. Compelled by the need to earn meager livings, garment workers often faced brutal working conditions, long hours, job instability as well as splintered and ineffective unions. In June, 1900, representatives of various garment and needle trades unions assembled in New York City and voted to form one large union to represent industry workers; the ILGWU.

The ILGWU has remained active in a nearly century-long effort to organize, obtain fair wages and safe working conditions, challenge employer and internal corruption, establish communities of garment workers, provide adequate health care and pension benefits to members and their families and retain an active voice in local, state and national political and social policy issues.

Throughout its history various forms of formal, non-formal and informal learning have been a vital part of the agenda of the ILGWU. The efforts of the ILGWU serve as a model for workers' education in the labor movement especially during the 1930s and 1940s (Freeman and Brickner, 1990; Kett, 1994; Tarr, 1990). Several important leaders in North American workers' education history have been associated with the ILGWU. These include Juliet Poyntz, Fannia Mae Cohn and Mark Starr.

Poyntz and Cohn established workers' education programs for ILGWU members in New York and served in educational leadership capacities with the union. Poyntz established ILGWU Unity Centers in and around Manhattan which provided various learning opportunities to garment workers (Wong, 1984). Cohn was likewise active in establishing education programs primarily in New York. Both viewed workers' education as not only a means to enhance worker technical and literacy skills, but also as a means to establish an activist movement of workers dedicated to social justice and transformation (Kett, 1994). Later Cohn led efforts to establish education programs in organizations outside of the union, such as Brookwood Labor College (Long and Lawry, 1989).

Like Poyntz and Cohn, Mark Starr was an advocate and activist for the rights of workers and led educational efforts at the ILGWU. Starr was also a recognized educator and scholar who analyzed trends, programs and events in workers' education during the Great Depression. And, like Cohn, Starr was a critical observer of the changing nature of workers' education as labor unions gained power, control and recognition. He cautioned against labor's dominance of workers' education for fear of the potential for less worker control over learning (Starr 1937, 1974).

By 1916 the ILGWU reached an agreement with the New York City public school system to establish Unity Centers and the Workers' University. With the leadership of Poyntz, Cohn and, later, Starr, the ILGWU expanded these educational programs for garment industry workers in New York at ILGWU headquarters as well as in union locals throughout the city in the 1920s. An extension education program reached out to ILGWU districts and locals in the United States and Canada. The success of the New York effort spawned a similar, though smaller program in Philadelphia.

According to Sweeney (1920, p.245) the "first systematic scheme of education undertaken by organized workmen in the United States was put to practice in 1916 by the ILGWU" with the establishment of the Workers' University. ILGWU staffers led learning efforts at the Workers' University as did college professors, other trade unionists and visiting speakers. Discussion and lecture topics included English, health care, literature, gymnastics, public speaking, economics, sociology, labor history, industrial relations, economics and social policy. The Workers' University also established a chorus and orchestra where music, singing and dancing promoted a pro-labor theme and informal learning.

Unity House, was another of the ILGWU's major efforts at providing learning opportunities for garment workers. Situated in the rural Pocono Mountains of northeastern Pennsylvania, it served dual purposes as a union educational/conference center and vacation resort. Unity House opened its doors in the early 1900s and provided learning and relaxation opportunities for thousands of union members until it closed in the late 1980s (Sweeney, 1920; Jacobs, 1962).

Oral history interviews, conducted by the author for a larger study of adult education among garment workers, reveal the history of Unity House. Interviews with both the district manager and educational director of the Central Pennsylvania District of the ILGWU tell part of the story:

> Robert Hostetter: The union owned Unity House. And we used it for our training facility. Unity House came to be as some of the locals in New York City wanted to get out of the City and (conduct) educational classes. That's where it all started. And, traditionally, the different districts here on the east coast, especially, started to use it for training purposes though it was also a vacation spot for rank and file.
>
> Thomas Matthews: (Unity House opened) in the first World War. It may have been in 1915. The union purchased Unity House, which was Forest Park, from the United States Government which had gotten control of it from a German group. At that time it was quite a novel thing. I mean the idea that you would have a place where working people could go . . . because the conditions in the factories were horrendous. Now some of this existed in Europe at that time. I believe that in Germany worker education places existed and, also, in England. But over here (in the United States) it was something entirely new. I imagine that some people were outraged. I taught labor history up there. We ran a rank-and-file conference up there every year for a week.

Programs at Unity House included formal instruction in labor history, economics, civic affairs and social policy issues. Non-formal programs included music, play acting, singing and dancing, often with a pro-labor theme, by the union's well recognized chorus. Public officials, supportive of organized labor, such as Eleanor Roosevelt, Adlai Stevenson and former Pennsylvania Governor George M. Leader, visited and led discussions at educational sessions.

The ILGWU also commonly appointed educational directors in larger union districts (Hostetter and Matthews, 1994) who were responsible for developing educational agendas for their respective Districts, attending union and/or labor movement conferences, conducting classes and workshops for rank and file, writing and developing newsletters, and participating in organizing, strikes, pickets and protests.

And, in 1951, ILGWU President David Dubinsky created the ILGWU's Training Institute described as "Labor's West Point" (Jacobs, 1962) which operated educational programs for members, other unionists and educational directors. Instrumental to the institute's success was its goal of educating individuals for productive, lifelong careers in the labor movement. Training Institute graduates served as union shop stewards, organizers, business managers and educators within the ILGWU and other unions.

Another example of workers' education in the ILGWU occurred in Pennsylvania's Wyoming Valley, located in the northeastern corner of the state. In 1944 Dubinsky appointed Min Lurye Matheson as chairperson of the ILGWU's Wyoming Valley District and Bill Matheson, Min's husband, as district educational director. When the Matheson's arrived in the Wyoming Valley they could count 600 ILGWU members in 6 garment factories. By they time they departed in 1963, the district consisted of 11,000 members in 168 garment factories.

This remarkable turnaround reveals the story of garment workers organizing against evident inequities in the prevailing economic and social order and of learning, educating and sharing knowledge which transformed the district from virtual powerlessness in 1944 to a social movement of economic, political, social and community significance by 1963. Formal, non-formal and informal learning played a key role in this transformation. Learning and sharing knowledge occurred through formal classes, a monthly district newsletter, frequent district meetings, the creation of a chorus which would perform at local events, striking and picketing, establishing an ILGWU health center and activism in local, state and national political affairs (Wolensky & Wolensky 1993).

Overall, the ILGWU's workers' education efforts reflect the interests of Jewish immigrants in the needle trades who blended education and activism. According to Jacobs (1962), thanks to the efforts of individuals like Dubinsky, Poyntz, Cohn, Starr and others, the ILGWU reflected a progressive educational agenda which evolved to include staff educators drawn from social liberals, progressives and activists. The ILGWU focused efforts on educating workers to enhance literacy as well as technical and collective bargaining skills. Learning also reflected a broader agenda which stressed intellectual and spiritual self improvement, advocacy of views on social policy, political activism and social transformation. Clearly, issues of economics, social policy, labor problems, industrial relations and spirituality often were at the forefront of the ILGWU's educational agenda (Kett, 1994; Starr, 1937, 1974, and Cohn 1948).

Summary.

The history of workers' education in the ILGWU reveals that the union recognized the critical role of labor in the needle trades to the industrial-capitalist economic order evident in North America. In response to this economic order it established education programs where workers might encounter and explore thoughts, ideas and learning space outside of the routine of factory work.

As the examples in this paper reveal, basic job skill learning needs were addressed while efforts were made to address broader intellectual needs for knowledge regarding the industrial scheme of society and the relations of humans within society. Thus, early in the 20th century, the ILGWU acknowledged the personal and social transformative potential of education and learning. Education became a powerful tool to aid workers to cope with and adapt to life in an industrial society; it served to create a movement which provided some sense of security in a very turbulent world; and it provided a means to promote social and economic justice and challenges to the social, political and economic status quo.

While the historiography of adult education in North America tends to marginalize workers' education, the efforts of the ILGWU demonstrate that, by creating knowledge regarding unfamiliar forms of adult learning, the field can expand upon the interpretation of its past to include a time when, as Heaney (1992, p.53) states, "adult education had something to do with democracy and social transformation".

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UNDERSTANDING ADULT EDUCATORS' POWER AND INFLUENCE TACTICS IN PROGRAM PLANNING PRACTICE

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Abstract: Recent program planning literature acknowledges the political dimension of planning practice. This paper proposes a theoretical framework of power and influence tactics.

Introduction

Theories of program planning have received much attention in adult and continuing education because program planning is one of the major tasks for adult education practitioners. Accordingly, numerous models of program planning have been proposed (Cervero & Wilson, 1994a; Langenbach, 1988; Sork & Buskey, 1986). One of the significant issues is the gap between program planning theory and practice. Pennington and Green (1976) reported that education practitioners actually did not follow the planning models suggested by theorists. After characterizing the current state of planning theory and presenting a five-step planning model in a recent Handbook of Adult and Continuing Education, Sork and Cafferella (1989) maintained that the literature is normative and might not fit the realities of practice. They warned that the gap between theory and practice had widened during the past decade.

Attempting to understand what planners actually do in practice, Cervero and Wilson (1994a) conducted three case studies and found that power and interests are central to adult education program planning. They maintain that "planning is essentially a *social* activity in which educators negotiate with others in answering questions about a program's form, including its purposes, content, audience, and format" (p. 28). From this perspective, adult education program planning is a process of constructing educational programs and reconstructing power relationships and personal and organizational interests. Consequently, any adequate theorizing of planning practice should take into account the social setting and it should be able to explain practitioners' planning behavior in the face of power. Researchers and practitioners have to understand that power and interests are involved in adult education program planning because "ignoring political realities can be fatal to a program" (Frey & Gillum, 1993, p. 5). Unfortunately, little is known about the planning behaviors of adult education planners in their daily practice. In particular, no attention has been paid in the literature to how planners exercise their power in program planning practice.

Related Literature

Power is one of the key concepts of organization theory and management science, and there are variety of perspectives on the concept of power (Isaac, 1987, 1992, Morgan, 1986; Yukl, 1989). One approach to power has focused on the social influence process (i.e., how power is exercised in particular situation). As early as 1957, Dahl equated power with influence and suggested that unused potential is not power. Fairholm (1993) writes: "Power has little direct utility as an abstract concept. We think about power only in terms of its use in specific relationships and in specific politically charged situations. It is a concrete, not an abstract, phenomena" (p. 39). He believes that the essence of power is its use in group and organization life. Power is manifestly a part of interpersonal behavior in most social situations. All persons in organizations have to interact with others to secure goals and desired outcomes. Individuals engage in a power activity when they purposefully communicate or interact with others to achieve personal and/or organizational goals. Power is viewed as "the individual capacity to gain your own aims in interrelationships with others, even in the face of their opposition" (p. 16).

All program planners work in social and organizational contexts which inevitably involve different interests to a certain extent. Thus, planning behavior can be well understood as a process of social influence and planners are exercising power. Unfortunately, little has been documented with regard to how program planners exercise their power. Studies in organization theory have tried to reveal different political tactics inductively in field study. For example, Allen, Madison, Porter, Renwick and Mayes (1979) conducted a study, and the following eight categories of political tactics were revealed in the research: blaming or attacking others; use of information; creating and maintaining of favorable image; developing a base of support; praising others, ingratiation; forming power coalitions developing strong allies; associating with the influential persons in the situation; and creating obligations and reciprocity. Kipnis, Schmidt and Wilkinson (1980) inductively derived a taxonomy of the interpersonal influence process. They first asked 165 lower-level managers each to write a paragraph describing "How I get my way" with the boss, co-workers, or subordinates. A 58-item survey questionnaire was then constructed and administered. Factor analyses resulted in the identification of eight dimensions of influence tactics: assertiveness, ingratiation, rationality, sanctions, exchange of benefits, upward appeal, blocking, and coalition. Yukl and his colleagues spent four years developing and validating their measure of influence tactics called the Influence Behavior Questionnaire (IBQ) (Yukl, Lepsinger, & Lucia, 1992). This scale was developed based upon an intensive literature review and upon previous empirical findings (Yukl, Falbe, & Youn, 1993). It includes a pattern of nine influence tactics: rational persuasion, inspirational appeals, consultation, ingratiation, personal appeals, exchange, pressure, and legitimating.

Although there is an increasing literature on power and influence tactics, most of the studies failed to recognize the fact that power and influence tactics as behavioral constructs essentially represent the way that individuals exercise their power, which are ultimately influenced by organizational political contexts such as conflict and power base. Among the previously mentioned studies of power tactics, little theoretical foundation has been suggested or used in the development of measures of power and influence tactics. Less attention has been paid to the relationships among influence behavior and dimensions of organizational contexts such as conflict and power bases. Although planning has long been recognized as one of the major management functions, few organization theories acknowledge that planning is essentially a social activity. Therefore, it is necessary to examine planners' power and influence tactics (how they exercise power in planning) in order to thoroughly understand program planning. In this regard, research and theory-building in program planning needs a theoretical framework that explains how planners exercise their power in developing educational programs for adults.

Theoretical Framework for Program Planning

Program planning activities across situations are not arbitrary. Rather, planner's behaviors are governed by social and political contexts and his/her understandings about the contexts. There are two mechanisms underlying the planning behavior. The first consists of individual and contextual dimensions that determine planning behaviors. The second is a set of planning behaviors used by the planners in different situations.

Dimensions of Planning Contexts

Cervero and Wilson's (1994a, 1994b) negotiation model of program planning consists of four major interrelated concepts: power, interests, negotiation, and responsibility. It is maintained that power relations and interests define the situations in which planners act. Power is not a consequence of individual attributes, but rather a planner's capacity to act which "is rooted in sets of historically-developing social and organizational relationships" (1994a, p. 254). Interests are motivations that drive people to act in certain ways. Through the education programs, planners construct and reconstruct the power relationships and legitimate interests involved. Therefore, planning of adult education programs must be defined in terms of planners' responsibilities because they are the active agent who transforms the real world. Two dimensions appear as the major political contexts: relations among legitimate interests and type of power relations. These contexts not only constrain planners' planning action but also provide opportunities for them to transform the situation faced in practice. Along these two dimensions, four planning strategies have been proposed: satisfice, networking, bargain, and counteract. The political dimension is defined along a line of continuum, with symmetrical relation on one end and asymmetrical relation on another. Cervero and Wilson (1994b) write: "In terms of the type of power relations in which the planning is embedded, some may be *symmetrical* in that the planner's capacity to act is equivalent to other relevant actors in the situation, while others may be relatively *asymmetrical* in that the planner's capacity to act is not equivalent to other relevant actors" (p. 261). Interests involved in any educational program can be viewed either as consensus or conflictural among its legitimate stakeholders.

Dimension of Planning Action

Cervero and Wilson (1994b) recognize that planners not only have to read the political situation and understand power relationships and legitimate interests as well, they also have to identify, modify, and carry out their own interests in the planning process. The extent to which planners execute their planning intention in order to satisfy their own interests reflects another underlying dimension that determines planners' behavior: *assertiveness* of planning (influencing) action. Along this dimension, proactive planning behaviors reflect assertive nature of influence process, while reactive tactics indicate that planners are in a unassertive state of planning process. The important role of this dimension in examining planning behavior in the face of power and conflict is supported by an extensive literature on conflict and conflict management (Kilmann & Thomas, 1977; King & Miles, 1990; Knapp & Putnam, 1988; Rahim & Bonoma, 1979; Rahim & Magner, 1995; Thomas, 1988, 1992; Wilson & Waltman, 1988; Womack, 1988a, 1988b). For example, Thomas' model of handling conflict has five modes: competing, collaborating, compromising, avoiding, and accommodating that can be explained by the two underlying dimensions of assertiveness and cooperativeness. The assertiveness refers to planners' attempt to satisfy their concerns (within situational constrains), while the cooperativeness reflects the attempt to satisfy other's concerns. Clearly, the assertiveness of action is closely related to agents/planners understanding their own interests and determination to act in order to satisfy their interests. The cooperativeness of an action, however, reflects planners' intent to act with regard to the other parties in the situation. Thus, their actions are influenced by planners' perception of the political contexts. Unfortunately, little attention has been paid to the relationship between agent's actions within political structure.

The dimension of planning assertiveness is also supported by other education planning models (Adams, 1991; Beach & McInerney, 1986). Adams (1991) posits that education planning models can be examined along an axis which illustrates the two basic social paradigms of planning. One paradigm has the positivistic assumptions of a value-free social and physical science, where the rational model of planning is implied. The other paradigm is represented by an interactive (naturalistic) model of planning. Beach and McInerney (1986) compared four planning models: comprehensive rational, bounded rationality, incrementalism, and goal-free/adaptive models in an empirical study. None of these planning models was found to be completely congruent with the practice. The researchers reported that "planners placing emphasis on setting goals and achieving them while at the same time demonstrating concerns with feasibility and agreement among stakeholders on a functional basis in initiating planning activities" (p. 190). To understand the roles of goal and method (or ends and means), they mapped the four planning models on the continuum of degree of comprehensiveness in generating solution alternatives and of degree of goal specification. In this framework, different planning models are placed in a continuum with the comprehensive rational model at one end and the interactive model at the other. From the perspective of current theoretical framework, planning actions are viewed as relatively proactive, where the planning goals are more specific and solutions are comprehensive, and may be viewed as reactive, where both of the goal and the solution are in searching through planning process. To sum up, the assertiveness of planning action reflects planners' cognitive aspect of planning (understanding about program objectives and generating solutions), and this dimension is important in examining different influence behaviors besides the organizational political dimensions.

Power and Influence Tactics

It is argued that there are three dimensions that determine a planner's behavior within organizations and related political contexts. Power and influence tactics are constructs which indicate certain behavioral patterns in organizational political processes. Consequently, a total of eight different influence tactics can be identified along the following three dimensions: planning action, power relationship between agent and target, and the relationship among interests in the situation. The eight planning behaviors are: reasoning, consulting, appealing, networking, exchanging, bargaining, pressuring, and counteracting. The relationships between three dimensions and eight influence tactics are shown in Figure 1.

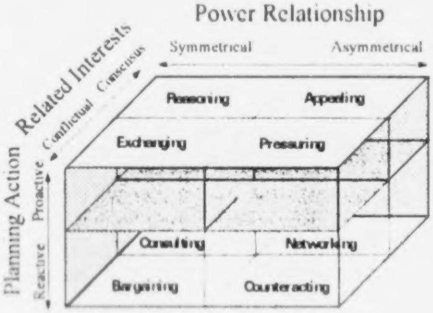

Figure 1.

A model of power and Influence tactics

Reasoning and Consulting. *Reasoning* tactic refers to the planner's utilization of logic or factual evidence in order to persuade the target that a request is logically congruent with common interests and is also viable. *Consulting* tactic reflects the planner's effort to seek the input and ideas from the target to generate a viable plan in order to meet their common concerns. Reasoning is a rational strategy of persuasion and it happens in an relative ideal situation where the power relations are symmetrical and the legitimate interests are consensual, and the planner uses facts and data to support the development of a logical argument when the task objectives are clearly attainable. In this situation, the rational approach to program planning seems to be valid and be an effective way of optimizing common interests.

Reasoning works well in an ideal situation, however, "planners quickly reach individual limits about what can be done to plan the program responsibly, they still must face constraints to action because there will always be insufficient time and money as well as imperfect information." (Cervero & Wilson, 1994b, p. 262). In such situations, the planner has to choose satisfactory alternatives rather than to reach an optimal end. He or she has to consult with the others on variety of issues in order to carry out the planning tasks (Vroom, 1974). That is, consulting tends to be the most appropriate tactic when planner is constrained by the individual limits in identifying planning objectives and solutions. In sum, reasoning is a proactive tactic and consulting is relatively a reactive action.

Appealing and Networking. In employing *appealing* tactics, the planner appeals to the emotions, predispositions, or values of the target, in order to pass a message that a request is not at the cost of target's interests. *Networking* happens when the planner seeks to obtain the support of other people who are important to the target.

Education planners face more complicated situations than the above one when they are in an asymmetrical relation with the target person even though their interests are consensual. Their capacity may be limited by time, resources, or division of labor (Forester, 1989). If the planners have clear concepts with regard to the planning and their actions are more assertive to satisfy their concerns of the emerging program, they have to directly confront the target and make appeals in an ingratiational way. Based on their empirical results on influence tactics, Kipnis and Schmidt (1983) concluded that "ingratiation is more likely to be used when managers have less power than the target of influence" (p. 312). On the other hand, if the planners are less assertive about their concerns because of personal cognitive limitations (e.g., ambiguity about the problem or limited information), then the more plausible way of influence is networking by which the planners can bring other parties involved in the program who hold relevant information or authority to gain the support from the target (Cervero & Wilson, 1994b).

Exchanging and Bargaining. *Exchanging* is the planner's behavior of offering exchange of favors to convince the target that a proposal can satisfy the needs of both sides. *Bargaining* reflects the planner's negotiation with the target to reach an agreement that meets their needs.

These two influence tactics are generally used by the planners when they face planning situations of conflicting interests and they hold symmetric power relations. In this type of situation, the planner and target have competing interests and thus both of them tend to use their leverage to protect or extend those interests. The planners will use exchanging strategy to settle the disputes if they can comprehend the situation and offer acceptable solutions. If neither of the two parties take an assertive action, the situation can be more complicated and time-consuming. In this later situation, bargaining appears to be plausible to get the planning job done. Exchange reflects an proactive planning action while the bargaining is relatively reactive. Bacharach (1983) pointed out that a distinction needs to be made between bargaining and exchange. He maintained that bargaining is more important in studying organizations because one or more parties are actively involved to change existing exchange relationships.

Pressuring and Counteracting. *Pressuring* refers to the planner makes direct and forceful demands or threats to the target even through the presence of resistance. *Counteracting* is a tactic by which the planner blocks efforts of the target or acts toward opposite direction.

Program planners face the toughest political situations where the target people whom the planners have to influence may hold more capacity in power relations and hold interests essentially conflictual with the planners. Then the tactics such as appealing or networking will become less effective because the target will not simply give up its interests. The planners are not likely to use tactics of exchanging or bargaining because they are not in symmetrical positions with the target people (and thus they have less chance to bring out their concerns). In these kinds of situations, the planners' influence behavior depends on the assertiveness of the action. Planners tend to be proactive when they persist in actions which they believe to be right for the program planning. Consequently, pressuring is most likely to be used.

When planners encounter a situation that has competing interests and there is less chance to bring out their concerns, they might forcefully voice their demands if the solution is clear, or they might block and counteract the effects of on going things in order to avoid the costs of their interests if the situation is not quite clear yet. Therefore, pressuring reflects an proactive planning behavior whereas counteracting tends to be reactive.

Discussions and Implications

A heuristic approach to organizational power should examine both behavior and structure, agent and political area, influence tactics and organizational contexts. Power is the result of the interaction between planners and their situations. Although there exists a variety of planning behaviors in organizational process, at least eight constructs can be identified according to three underlying dimensions between planners and their organizational contexts. Care should be exercised in interpreting the propositions of the current framework. As the situations are always changing, neither the planners (including their interests, concerns, and understanding about the situation) nor the structure is static. Nevertheless, it still assumes that planners are more likely to exhibit some behaviors instead of others in certain situations, under the assumption that each planning situation is relatively stable and comprehensible to the planner, and thus reflects a different degree from the other situations along the three dimensions.

Program planning has long been conceptualized as a linear process through assessing needs, setting objectives, identifying learning contents, to evaluating outcomes. This rational process has been challenged by recently new planning theories such as naturalistic and critical models. This paper proposes a theory which posits that conventional planning models fail to capture a heuristic view of program planning. Under the perspective of proposed theory, planners do act rationally while paying attention to the contexts. At the same time, they also have to address the issue of power and interests. Overall, the effectiveness of program planning depends on whether the planners can wisely deal with the contextual factors they face, and if their planning behaviors are congruent with the organizational situations.

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FACTORS OR EXPERIENCES THAT CONTRIBUTE TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF EXPERT NURSES USING THE TRIARCHIC THEORY OF HUMAN INTELLIGENCE

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Abstract: This is a qualitative study designed to explore the developmental and cognitive processes of expert nurses using the Triarchic Theory of Human Intelligence. The research was designed to answer the following research questions: What types of personal and/or professional contextual environments has the expert encountered that may have contributed to professional development? How does the expert practice in a professional situation? Does the expert use metacomponents, performance components and knowledge acquisition components when processing information for problem solving and decision making? A key informant process was used to identify the six expert nurses who participated in the study. The study was conducted in three institutions. Data was collected using a Resume Sort as the basis for the first interview. A three hour participant-observation session was then conducted, followed by a second interview. During the second interview, participants shared an Exemplar. The Exemplar was an experience that was meaningful to the participants. This was followed by an interview that incorporated data from the participant-observation session. A case study was formulated for each participant using the transcripts from both interviews. A cross-case analysis was performed to identify the emergence of themes common to the expert nurses. The data were analyzed and reported within the framework of The Triarchic Theory of Human Intelligence, that is, the contextual subtheory, the experiential subtheory, and the components of intelligence subtheory.

Summary of The Triarchic Theory of Human Intelligence: The Triarchic Theory of Human Intelligence (Sternberg, 1985) suggests that development occurs as a result of contextual environments, experience, and information processing strategies. The contextual subtheory speaks to the influence of the sociocultural context on development through the functions of adaptation, selection, and shaping. The experiential subtheory speaks to the interaction among tasks, situation, and persons. This is an experiential continuum, where the individual develops the ability to automatize the information processing associated with routine tasks. Unique or novel tasks are identified through encoding, combination, and comparison, and performance is guided by the global processing system. The components of intelligence subtheory speaks to the information processing components. These are identified as a local processing system for nonexecutive processes and a global processing system for executive processes. Each system uses metacomponents, performance components, and knowledge acquisition components.

Problem: The dynamic nature and complexity of health care requires the ability to move beyond the analytical, situational paradigm demonstrated by many practicing nurses and increase our acceptance of the validity and contributions of the contextual paradigm that incorporates the use of multiple knowledge paradigms demonstrated be the holistic practice of expert nurses. It is unknown what factors or experiences contribute to the development of expert nurses.

Purpose: This study sought to identify factors or experiences that have contributed to the development of a population of expert nurses.

Research Questions: The contextual subtheory was primarily examined through the use of a Resume Sort. The following research question was designed to examine the contextual subtheory:

What types of personal and/or professional contextual environments has the expert encountered that may have contributed to professional development?

a. Types of learning environments encountered?

b. Relationships that have contributed to the individual's self-concept as a professional?

c. Contributions of previous work experiences?

The experiential subtheory was primarily examined through the participant-observation session and an interview questionnaire. The following research question was designed to examine the experiential subtheory:

How does the expert practice in a professional situation?

a. Task performance in routine situations?

b. Task performance in unique or novel situations?

The components of intelligence subtheory was primarily examined through the use of as interview questionnaire. The following research question was designed to examine the components of intelligence subtheory: Does the expert use metacomponents, performance components, and knowledge acquisition components when processing information for problem solving and decision making?

a. Recognition of a task as similar or different from prior tasks?

b. Evaluation of task performance?

c. Integration of new knowledge into existing knowledge base?

Population and Setting: Participants were identified by their peers through a nomination process. Nominations were conducted on all three shifts. These nominators were asked to identify the individual they identified as an expert. The definition of expert was consistent with the work of Benner (1984) and Dreyfus and Dreyfus (1986). Nominators and nominees were limited to those individuals whose primary responsibility was direct patient care. The individual with the majority of nominations was asked to be a participant in the study. The study was conducted in three acute care hospitals: a university affiliated teaching hospital, a non-university affiliated teaching hospital, and a suburban community hospital. The participants worked on medical-surgical or critical care units. A maximum of one expert per nursing unit was interviewed and a maximum of three experts per institution was interviewed at any one institution.

Research Design and Data Collection. This was a qualitative study using case studies developed from the interview transcripts and a cross case analysis. Two interviews and one participant-observation session were used for data collection. The first interview used a Resume sort as the basis of the interview and participants were asked to sort their experiences according to the degree of influence they had on their professional development. The experiences were sorted in three sections: most influential, somewhat influential, and least influential. Probes were inserted when indicated to elicit clarification and understanding by the researcher. The second interview was conducted following a three hour participant-observation session. The interview began with the participant sharing an exemplar. The exemplar was a situation that stood out in the participants mind as a memorable event that taught them something new, made them aware of something that was previously unknown, or made them think in a different way. This was followed by interview questions that incorporated observations from the participant-observation sessions and additional questions that further answered the research questions.

Data Analysis. Transcripts were coded according to the research questions and a case study was then developed for each participant. A cross case analysis was performed to identify common themes that emerged. The data was reported in three frameworks: as a response to each research question, within the context of The Triarchic Theory of Human Intelligence, and the development of a new conceptual framework for The Triarchic Theory of Human Intelligence as applied to the development of expert nurses in acute care settings.

Data analysis in response to the research questions. The contextual subtheory was examined by exploring the sociocultural environments that contributed to the development of expert nurses, specifically, learning environments, relationships, and previous work experiences. When they discussed learning environments, the common themes that emerged from the cross case analysis as significant contributors to development were: work-related learning, independence and autonomy in identifying and/or meeting learning needs, challenging learning environments, and the use of a combination of learning methods. The relationships that emerged as significant in the development of expert nurses were: relationships with nursing instructors, relationships in the early stages of their careers, relationships with managers, and personal relationships. The experts spoke of these relationships as contributing to the development of self-confidence, the concept of professionalism, and/or a standard of performance. Previous work experiences converged around six major themes: a patient care role prior to or during nursing school, longevity at an institution, role expansion, the shift worked, an ability to personalize patient care, and an ability to learn from patient experiences.

The experiential subtheory was examined by exploring the experts' ability to function in routine situations and in unique or novel situations. According to this subtheory, routine situations are handled through automatization. This involves the activation of a local processing unit that is unconscious. This unit is activated as a whole. Unique situations are handled by the global processing system. Routine task performance was fluid and participants were able to engage in simultaneous activities. When asked to describe their performance, they used phrases like automatic, just something you do, and not thinking about it. Unique or novel situations were identified as something that was an unusual occurrence for each participant. Performance during these situations was more hesitant. When they discussed their performance, the data clustered around four major themes: an attempt to visualize the problem, a search for information related to the perceived problem, an attempt to hypothesize about the exact nature of the problem, and the use of prior knowledge in problem identification.

The components of intelligence subtheory suggests that both local processing systems and global processing systems are involved in information processing. Each of these systems contain metacomponents, performance components, and knowledge acquisition components. This subtheory was examined by eliciting the experts' ability to differentiate a task as similar or different, evaluate task performance, and integration of new knowledge. Task differentiation was based upon experience and familiarity. Experts classify routine as that which is recognizable and familiar and unique as that which is not familiar or falls outside the norm. Evaluation of task performance was based upon predetermined criteria. Experts spoke to knowing the outcome that was expected and trying different things until that outcome is achieved. Experts learning new information through a process of comparing new information to previously mastered information. They described a process of "finding out what's different" from what is already known and "learning the new stuff". They spoke in terms of "classifications."

Data analysis within the context of The Triarchic Theory of Human Intelligence: The contextual subtheory speaks to the interactive nature of the sociocultural environment. The major functions within this subtheory are adaptation, selection, and shaping. Adaptation is the process of using knowledge, skills, and behavior to achieve a fit between the environment and the individual. The experts identified relationships early in their career that enabled them to identify and develop the knowledge, skills, and behaviors necessary to function as a professional nurse. The experts also demonstrated adaptation when they discussed the types of learning environments that contributed to development. The most significant type of learning was that which increased knowledge and skills for enhanced job performance. Their focus was on clinical learning and the integration of theory and practice. Selection is the process of choosing environments that capitalize on the individual's strengths and minimize weaknesses. Selection is invoked when adaptation is unsuccessful. The experts identified relationships with managers that demonstrated selection. These relationships served to validate the expert nurses and contribute toward their development. Previous work experiences also support selection as a function of the contextual subtheory. Experts identified prior patient care roles as contributing to the selection of their present specialty. Specific patient experiences also support selection by demonstrating additional validation of choice and performance. Learning environments, specifically, independence and autonomy in identifying and meeting learning needs, and challenging learning environments, support selection. The longevity of the participants at their present positions indicates successful selection. Shaping is the final function in the contextual subtheory and involves the individual's attempt to change the environment or herself to achieve congruence between the self and the contextual environment. The experts' involvement in role expansion activities supports the interactive nature of shaping. Through these activities experts provided examples where the environment changed them and where they made attempts to change the environment.

The experiential subtheory holds that individuals function within an experiential continuum that enables them to function in routine and unique situations. Performance during routine situations invokes the use of automatized information processing that are guided by the activation of a local processing system. Performance during unique situations is guided by the use of the global processing system through the function of encoding, combination, and comparison. Performance during routine situations suggests the activation of a local processing system that automatizes information processing for routine tasks. There is also suggestive evidence that these systems are activated as a unit and are an unconscious process. Task performance during unique situations is guided by the global processing system through encoding, combination, and comparison. The experts words suggest a much more active cognitive involvement during unique situations. They spoke to visualization, a search for information, hypothesizing, and the use of prior knowledge as ways to perform during unique situations. These processes suggest the use of a global processing system.

The components of intelligence subtheory suggests that there are two separate information processing systems. The local processing system is activated as a whole unit and performs the non-executive functions of strategy implementation. The global processing system performs the executive functions of planning, monitoring and revising information processing strategies. Within each system there are three functions: metacomponents, performance components, and knowledge acquisition components. The experts provided extensive use of metacomponents in problem definition when they described how they differentiated routine from unique situations. These descriptions also suggest the existence and activation of a local processing system and the use of metacomponents to monitor performance. Task completion through the performance components using the functions of encoding of information, combining and comparing information to existing local systems was supported by the experts. There is also evidence of the experts using a local system to guide performance and then switching to a global system. Knowledge acquisition components use three functions. First is the selective encoding of information and sorting relevant information from irrelevant information. Once sorted, the relevant information is combined into a credible whole. This is then selectively compared to information acquired through past experiences. The experts described this process when they discussed how they learn new information. Although a definitive distinction cannot be made between the use of a local or global processing system, there is indirect support for the belief that learning similar information is the responsibility of the local processing system and learning new information is the responsibility of the global processing system.

New Conceptual Framework for The Triarchic Theory of Human Intelligence as Applied to Clinical Experts in Acute Care: Within the contextual subtheory, there are five elements that emerge from the data as critical in the development of expert nurses: time, people, tasks, experiences, and learning. The significance of time revolves around longevity at an institution, the shift worked, and full time employment. People are significant because of the impact of relationships on development. The most significant relationships were with nursing school instructors, preceptors or role models, family and managers. Of significance is the fact that the most significant relationships occurred early in the experts' career. Specific work experiences had a significant impact on development and include patient care roles prior to or during nursing school, an ability to learn from patient experiences, an ability to empathize with patients. Learning influences the development of experts. It is significant to note that academic learning for advanced degrees does not seem significant in expert development. To impact development, learning must be autonomous, work-related, challenging and involve a combination of learning methods.

Within the experiential subtheory, the automatic performance indicative of a local processing system is found in the experts' performance during routine situations. This level of performance is achieved through frequently performing a task and through repeated exposure to a situation. Both

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of these elements facilitate recognition and subsequent performance with little conscious thought. The four elements that are critical is the experts' ability to perform in unique situations are: the ability to visualize the problem, a search for information, the use of prior knowledge, and an ability to hypothesize about the nature of a problem.

Within the components of intelligence subtheory, expert development can be examined in terms of problem definition (metacomponents), task performance (performance components and metacomponents), and learning (knowledge acquisition components). The ability of experts to adequately define a problem requires familiarity with similar situations in the past and multiple experiences with similar situations. Successful task performance is based upon the use of predetermined criteria. This goal is determined as a result of knowledge and experience. When the goal is not achieved, the metacomponents can be seen through the changed performance of the experts. Expert learning is accomplished through the use of knowledge acquisition components. Elements involved in expert learning center around two processes, the ability to compare similarities and differences, and the ability to compare old information with new information.

Summary: The data supports the major tenets of The Triarchic Theory of Human Intelligence and contributes to the creation of a developmental model that would facilitate the development of nurse-experts. Based upon the results of this study, there are numerous recommendations for academic educators, clinical educators, managers, and professional staff that would foster development through all stages of the skill acquisition model (Dreyfus & Dreyfus, 1986).

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LEARNING STYLES: ARE THEY FACT OR FICTION?

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As researchers attempt to identify and analyze the variety of factors that contribute to or inhibit the learning process, it is common to focus on elements external to the learner (e.g., teaching methods, classroom setting, curriculum development). Less research has focused on elements internal to the learner (e.g., the processes by which the learner perceives, interprets, stores, and recalls information). The various ways in which learners react to learning experiences, the learning environment, and related elements compose an individual's learning style.

Although the concept of learning styles has captured the imagination of educators, there is such a range of ideas, theories, approaches, advocates, and opponents that many individuals first investigating the concept of learning style are as confused as the blind men in John Saxton's "The Six Blind Men and the Elephant." Depending upon which part of the elephant is first discovered (or which learning style theory is encountered), an individual's perception can be as diverse as the six blind men's descriptions of the elephant. Researchers and scholars studying learning styles have similar experiences.

One model of learning styles (Keefe, 1987) as three distinct, but interconnected, dimensions provides a relatively simplistic format for addressing the myriad of possible options. The three dimensions of cognitive, affective, and perceptual modes afford a means of exploring the concept of learning styles and its impact on the improvement of student learning. Attention to individual learner differences is imperative in increasing the effectiveness of any learning experience. Concentration on all aspects of learning styles will create more success for instructors attempting to teach adults.

No universally accepted terminology exists to describe learning styles. However, for this presentation, a learning style can be defined as "the complex manner in which, and conditions under which, learners most efficiently and most effectively perceive, process, store, and recall what they are attempting to learn" (James & Blank, 1993, p. 48). Specific learning styles may be defined in the following manner:

> Cognitive styles are information processing habits representative of the learner's typical mode of perceiving, thinking, problem solving, and remembering.
>
> Perceptual styles are the ways individuals extract information from the environment.
>
> Affective styles encompass aspects of personality that relate to attention, emotion, and valuing.

Do Learning Styles Really Exist?

Why do some learners excel in a course or program while other learners in the same class--who received the identical instruction--struggle to learn and perform poorly? Educators have long sought theories to explain and reduce the sometimes wide variability in learning outcomes among students. Some point to differences in motivation or intelligence as the primary cause. Others suggest that one of the primary reasons that some students learn well while others do not is that each learner has his or her unique "learning style" that characterizes how and when he or she learns best. This individual style, proponents suggest, is a unique blend of perceptual modality strengths, cognitive processing patterns, and emotional characteristics that, in concert, dictate the learning environment and teaching strategies best suited to each learner.

Do such learning styles really exist or are learning styles researchers preoccupied with learners' minor personal preferences that have little impact on learning outcomes? Is student learning style a valid construct that can be reliably measured and manipulated to enhance learning? While the existence of learning style seems apparent from personal experience and casual observation of students in classrooms, its existence is being called into question by learning styles research as well as by recent developments in related fields.

Research in which the dominant learning styles of students as measured by the best instruments available are matched with appropriate teaching strategies has yielded mixed results. Too often, such style-instruction matches among learners in experimental groups has led to no better learning outcomes than that among learners in control groups with style-instruction mismatches. Also, research examining the concurrent validity of various learning style instruments (even performance-based instruments) that purport to measure the same dimensions of style have yielded correlations that are non-significant (and sometimes even negative) among subscales on multiple instruments measuring the very same construct such as visual or auditory style.

The recent emergence of contextual, active, applied approaches to learning have deflected attention away from the preferred learning style of the individual learner and focused attention on more appropriate ways of teaching based on the learning outcome at hand. Some suggest that when instruction is presented by abstract or symbolic means (such as via lecture and readings) students may very well have preferred more efficient ways of learning. When instruction, however, is more closely in tune with the nature of what is being learned, those preferences diminish. For example, when teaching a group of students about the periodic table of elements in chemistry using abstract means, some may prefer auditory stimuli and some visual. When teaching the same content using a contextual, applied approach in which the learner is directly physically and emotionally engaged (such as in the chemistry lab) the nature of the learning activity dictates the mode of instruction (e.g., kinesthetic, haptic, and visual). Perhaps the abstractness of instruction and over reliance on symbolic means of teaching have given the false impression that some students inherently learn better using certain styles.

Another recent theory, that of multiple human intelligences, forces us to rethink our traditional view of learning style. The theory of learning style posits that each learner has a characteristic, dominant, preferred learning style that, when used, should allow him or her to learn better than when not used--regardless of the subject matter being learned. Multiple Intelligences (MI) theory, on the other hand, suggests that we each possess a unique blend of intelligences (e.g., musical, kinesthetic, verbal, mathematical, etc.) And that each person should learn and perform well in his/her areas of strength and not so well in areas of weakness. This should be the case, according to MI theory, regardless of how instruction is presented. For example, someone musically talented will learn musical concepts well no matter how taught. Someone not mathematically talented will struggle learning mathematical concepts regardless of teaching strategies used.

That the construct of dominant student learning style exists has been widely accepted and has been the theoretical basis for much research and instrument development (not to mention marketing). We should proceed cautiously and verify the existence of the construct empirically before we make major educational decisions regarding students' educational futures based on learning style instruments that, more often than not, are not worth the paper they are printed on.

Research Related to the Perceptual Learning Style Modality

Within the scope of learning styles, the perceptual dimension identifies various ways individuals assimilate information including a physical/biological response of the body to external stimuli. It is the means through which information is extracted from the environment. Various theorists/researchers have identified three to seven perceptual elements. In some ways, the perceptual modality is one of the easier dimensions to address since it is readily apparent when a variety of perceptual elements are being utilized. Research using on the Multi-Modal Paired Associates Learning Test (Revised) (Cherry, 1981) has found that adults most commonly prefer three modalities: visual, interactive, and haptic. Research on differences based on age, gender, and education level, has indicated that scores increase with educational level and decrease with age. No gender based differences have been found. In addition, information on the relationship between intelligence and perceptual modality and learning disabilities and perceptual modality has been researched.

Intelligence Scores and Learning Style Factors

Historically, psychologists have used intelligence tests to differentiate people by their mental abilities while learning researchers have used tests to describe modality preferences unique to an individual. Since the 1950s, theories have been proposed to conceptualize the concept of learning styles as cognitive, affective, and physiological which indicate the learner's interaction with the environment. It could be hypothesized that information extracted by the senses that measure actual learning styles may be more sophisticated in determining learning characteristics as opposed to tests which measure an individual's perceived learning style.

Educators and psychologists have often used the terms cognitive style and learning style interchangeably when examining individual differences. It appears that psychologists use the term learning styles all inclusively as they relate to an individual's style or approach to tasks. Typically, school psychologists use a psychometric approach which investigates individual differences in general intelligence. Intelligence quotients differentiate one individual from another. This presentation investigates the efforts of some early experimental psychologists interested in the measurement of assorted factors which still concern practitioners today. These domains include the senses, speed of response, and their interrelationship with the learning process. Interest continues in intelligence as a multidimensional phenomenon with several dimensions representing unique mental abilities.

A study of assorted learning style instruments indicates a lack of foundation in testing theory which undergirds established intelligence tests. This weakness presents a question about the true nature of what are termed learning style instruments. Further confusion becomes apparent in attempting to formulate a construct which could be assumed in order to determine reliability and validity of learning style instruments. The Multi-Modal Paired Associates Learning Test-II (MMPALT-II) (Cherry, 1981) was designed to investigate actual perceptual learning styles and purports to measure an individual's varying learning approaches to tasks. In order to determine whether or not the MMPALT-II instrument was measuring factors other than the selected learning style modalities, a study utilizing the Wechsler Adult Intelligence Scale-Revised (Wechsler, 1981) was formulated to correlate the two instruments. An investigation was undertaken to study the MMPALT-II instrument within the current literature to evaluate the construct by interrelating it with other factors commonly associated with intelligence testing. The study examined data to determine if a correlation existed between the WAIS-R and specific selected learning style modalities as measured by the MMPALT-II.

Research Related to Cognitive and Affective Learning Style Modalities

Cognitive processes include the storage and retrieval of information in the brain. Information processing habits represent the learner's typical ways of perceiving, thinking, problem solving, and remembering. Each learner has preferred avenues of perception, organization, and retention that are distinctive and consistent. Numerous learning style inventories are available in this dimension. Although most instruments have not undergone thorough validity testing, there are a few instances of a well conducted research base.

The affective dimension encompasses aspects of personality that relate to attention, emotion, and valuing. Affective learning styles are the learner's typical mode of arousing, directing, and sustaining behavior. Although affective learning style components cannot be observed directly, they can be inferred from the learner's behavior and interaction with the environment.

By far the greatest research base for any personality and learning style instrument has been developed on the Myers-Briggs Type Indicator. Utilizing Carl Jung's construct of "psychological types," as well as instincts or archetypes that drive people from within, Isabel Myers and Katheryn Briggs constructed their instrument. The base of research is extensive with large numbers of people having been tested over a considerable range of occupations. James and Blank (1993) reviewed and critiqued a number of available learning style instruments for adults and, after cautioning about the general weakness of validity and reliability for many instruments, concluded that the Myers-Briggs revealed strong evidence both of validity and of reliability in comparison with other instruments. They noted that the instrument dealt with factors in the affective dimension.

Construct validity for the Myers-Briggs is an interesting matter, inasmuch as it relies on the validity of the constructs being utilized. Serious inquirers might have their hackles of apprehension raised due to Jung's subscription to the early twentieth century construct of the "collective unconscious," as well as his embrace of instinct theory, and his perceptions that each individual has a "true type," pointing to his promulgation of a determinative construct in his thinking.

Another instrument on which research has been performed has been the Gregorc Personality Style Delineator, although the research base is not as extensive as with the Myers-Briggs. James and Blank (1993) reported moderate levels of validity and reliability for the Gregorc, again, in relationship with the other learning style instruments.

An Assessment of Learning Style Instruments for Adults

Although the concept of learning styles is popularly accepted, each researcher/theorist seems to bring a particular slant or definition to the research effort. The various approaches have led to a wide variety of instruments, each measuring different aspects of learning styles. Due to the lack of validation research and the abundance of approaches, learning style instrument development is of mixed quality. Because of problems that exist, considerations related to the selection of a particular learning style instrument are crucial. Selection is dependent upon several factors, the most important of which is the intended uses of the data collected from the learners completing the instrument. Finding an available instrument, matching that instrument to its intended use, and selecting the most appropriate instrument are all steps in the selection process.

What's Needed?

Concern for all of the factors involved with learning styles related to instructional design would improve the learning effectiveness of various classroom offerings. As new technologies become commonplace, respect for individual differences and knowledge of learning style idiosyncracies will undoubtedly improve learning effectiveness if these ideas are incorporated into the development of instructional materials using the new technologies.

Additional research which attempts to prove that the construct of learning styles is a valid concept is needed. Although a few studies do tend to support the construct, more irrefutable data is necessary to prove that there is more than an intuitive appeal that attention to individual learning style uniquenesses makes a difference in the learning process.

Specific issues related to the perceptual modality include administrating the MMPALT-III over time to the same individual throughout different stages of the life cycle. Good research would help determine whether an individual's learning style has changes over time.

Research is needed to determine whether or not there is a relationship between teaching style and learning style. Do students learn better if there is a match between teaching style and learning style? Do instructors tend to teach using their dominant learning style?

Further research needs to be conducted to determine if any links exist between the seven perceptual modality styles and career success. Do certain job tasks require proficiency in certain individuals perceptual styles? Many similar related issues need to be developed and researched.

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PAULO FREIRE AND TRANSFORMATIVE EDUCATION

Paula Allman, Elizabeth Lange Christensen, Peter Mayo,
Sue M. Scott and Daniel Schugurensky

The purpose of this symposium is to pay tribute to Paulo Freire, one of the most influential theorists and practitioners in adult education and pedagogy in general. The first presentation provides a general background to Freire's work and it is followed by an exposition of Freire's central concept of 'Conscientization'. The discussion will then highlight two key strands in Freire's work, namely the Marxian and Liberation Theology strands. The concluding section addresses Freire and postcolonial politics.

Paulo Freire: from Pedagogy of the Oppressed to Pedagogy of Hope

Daniel Schugurensky, UCLA

In the field of adult education, at least in Latin America, Paulo Freire constitutes a watershed. There is 'before' and 'after' Freire, both in the philosophical approach to adult education, as well as in its practice. In Latin America, this Copernican revolution in adult education (shifting the focus from the teacher to the learners and from the transmission of information to the transformation of social reality) was immediately discussed not only by adult educators, but also by school teachers, social workers, community organisers, political leaders and students.

Paulo Freire's approach to education was born in the context of poverty, exploitation and authoritarianism of North East Brazil. In his doctoral dissertation, later published as 'Education as the Practice of Freedom', Freire attempted a first critique of the authoritarian education of the time, linking such authoritarianism with larger societal structures, and developing some seminal ideas about an emancipatory education which could contribute to transform and humanize society. In the late 1960s, after having been expelled from Brazil by the military regime, Paulo Freire wrote *Pedagogy of the Oppressed.* A few years later, the book was translated into several languages and was discussed by politicians, academics, teachers and community leaders alike in most countries of the world. In some countries ruled by military regimes, the book was forbidden, but people managed to read copies of the book, often in a foreign language. As a result of the book, Freire was banned from entering several countries, particularly countries in Latin America and Africa, where the philosophy and methods proposed in the book had been adopted by a multiplicity of popular education groups, non-governmental organizations, revolutionary movements like the FMLN and even governments like the revolutionary ones in Grenada and Nicaragua. The main theme of the book, and of Freire's work in general, is the relationship between authority and freedom, between oppression and social change. In *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, Freire examines the authoritarian educational system and labels its practice as 'Banking Education.' In this model, the teacher, who is the subject of the learning process, deposits contents in the learners, who are considered merely as objects and thus are expected to passively assimilate the contents imposed by the teacher. In the banking model of education, the teacher is the active part of the process, and is expected to deposit knowledge in the mind of the pupil, as if the mind was a 'tabula rasa' to be filled with information. Hence, the teacher is considered as knowledgeable, and the student as ignorant. This oppressive model, says Freire, mirrors the attitudes and practices of an oppressive society. In opposition to the banking model, Freire proposes a liberatory and emancipatory model based on a horizontal relation between teachers and learners, on critical thinking and on social transformation. In Freire's model, the teacher becomes a facilitator, the traditional class becomes a cultural circle, the content becomes relevant to the group, and the lecture about a subject becomes a dialogue with the participants. For Freire, literacy implies the acquisition of language as a political process of citizenship, in which the people take history into their hands. In the writings of Freire, we find elements of the Socratic maieutic method of systematic questioning, Philosophical Existentialism, Phenomenology, Hegelianism, Marxism and Liberation Theology. Together with Marx and the Bible (a synthesis previously made, among others, by Camilo Torres, the revolutionary priest) are John Dewey and Edmund Husserl, Franz Fanon and Albert

Memmi, Mao and Che Guevara, Louis Althusser and Eric Fromm, Karel Kosik and Pierre Furter, Herbert Marcuse and Jean-Paul Sartre. However, although Freire has been highly influenced by these and other authors, he has the merit of combining their ideas in a very original formulation. As Fausto Franco has said, in reading Freire, the readers have the impression of listening to familiar sounds everywhere, but at the same time, they experience an overall harmony of the whole that is new.

One of the most important concepts in Freire's work is that of Conscientization. Although a transition from a magical, fatalistic consciousness to a critical consciousness is key in the process of liberation, it should not be assumed that a critical consciousness leads automatically to a process of transformation. A critical consciousness is necessary but not a sufficient condition for collective change. While in his first works, Freire mistakenly assumed that the unveiling of reality would translate into transformation, in his later writings, he corrected his position and recognized that a more critical understanding of the situation of oppression, though being a step in the right direction, does not yet liberate the oppressed.

Freire talks about his hope for a better world, one in which women and men meet in a process of ongoing liberation. His educational practice is directed towards a certain utopia, a society that is less perverse, discriminatory, racist and sexist, a society that serves the interests of the unprotected and devalued subordinate classes, and not only the interests of the elites. The process of change should start with the notion of 'untested feasibility', that is, the notion that history can be modified. Conversely, the more the oppressed see the oppressors as unbeatable, the less they believe in themselves.

Although, in *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, Freire did not refer directly to issues of race and gender, he did so in subsequent works. The countless letters complaining about the sexist language used in *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* made him realise how much ideology resides in language. Freire does not believe in the neutrality of education. The political nature of educational practice requires an ethical commitment on the part of the educator. Freire does not believe in a nondirective education. For him, educational practice, whether authoritarian or democratic, is always directive. A progressive teacher must be tolerant and critical, besides being aware, at the same time, of the hidden curriculum's pitfalls. As does Michael Apple, Freire tells us that teachers and students alike tend to succumb to the naive temptation to consider the curriculum as something given, a neutral content to be transmitted. The more teachers and students share this magical understanding of content, the more difficult it would be to have a critical understanding of social reality.

Conscientization as the Object of Practice

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Conscientization is Paulo Freire's word for emerging from a submerged consciousness. It is the deepening of the attitude of awareness characteristic of emerging to consciousness (Freire, 1970, 1985, 1993, 1995). The starting point for understanding conscientization is acknowledging that people have the ability to exist *in* and *with* the world; i.e.,they have a critical consciousness of what is happening to them in the world. The basic condition for conscientization is that an agent must be subject (i.e., a conscious being) and open to "the complex operations of simultaneously transforming the world by their action and grasping and expressing the world's reality in their creative language" (1985, p. 68). This is a stance and condition for becoming aware of both the structures that oppress us in society and of the internal structures or myths that direct our behavior.

Another important condition for conscientization is the ability to achieve objective distance from the world. That is, sometimes we need to "leave the linearity of inquiry, so as to develop a global grasp of the object of knowledge in order to apprehend the total essence before (we) can learn it" (1995, p. 388). Freire proposes that we engage our curiosity by establishing distance from the object we are learning so that by visualizing the object in relationship to other objects, we can in a global, holistic way, come to know it in all of its fullness, not just its technical aspects. In this kind of education, "the oppressed learn to develop the necessary critical tools that will enable them to read their world so they can apprehend the globality of their reality and choose what world they want for themselves" (Freire and Macedo, 1995, p. 389).

Praxis is the action of moving back and forth between action in the world and reflection on the action in a continually critical way. Often it has been called the circle of praxis (Freire, 1970)because it emphasizes the ongoing relationship between reflection and action. Sometimes it has been referred to as the hermeneutical circle which emphasizes new levels of interpretation with a set of new questions which challenges the former interpretation. Action with subsequent reflection on the action requires a critical analysis on what is happening in the world, how the students are seeing themselves in relationship to this world, and a continual transformation of the world while at the same time reflecting on the action. Freire calls this kind of education problem posing education which responds to the essence of consciousness, the intentionality of acting on objects in the social world but also being conscious of itself. The intention is to transform the world through actions and to make the world more human, a process which requires continual investigation.

If conscientization is a coming to awareness of what lies in our unconscious, it is only possible to know this, according to Freire, though the action on the conditions that oppress us and by dialoguing on our concrete existence. Dialogue is not a simple technique where we share our experiences or go around, turn-at-talk, and get to know one another before a class. Dialogue characterizes an epistemological relationship, a way of knowing that should never be viewed as a mere tactic to involve students in a particular task. It is a social process that transcends an individualistic concern for knowing. " Dialogue as a process of learning and knowing must always involve a political project with the objective of dismantling oppressive structures and mechanisms prevalent both in education and society" (Freire and Macedo, 1995, p.383). While the teacher never relinquishes his or her authority in class he or she never becomes authoritarian, either. Thus conscientization requires a practice of teaching and learning where both the teacher and the learner want to know the object of knowledge rigorously in a process that is neither neutral nor indifferent. The conscientizing process seeks to elevate and listen to the knowledge of lived experience. This lived experience of common ordinary people is the point of departure as true conscientizing practice eventually transcends the personal experience and engages learners in becoming critically aware of their situations as oppressed beings.

Freire with no Dilutions

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I recently wrote an article on Freire where I considered his legacy to radical adult education (Allman, 1994). Despite my acknowledged commitment to Freire's philosophy of education, I had to be rather negative, or at least hesitant, in assessing his legacy. My nègativity has nothing to do with interpretations and applications of Freire that dilute the radical nature of his analysis and accordingly his radical objectives for preparing people to engage in authentic social transformation and the humanisation of our existence.

Freire's very specific mode of conceptualisation, underpins his philosophy and ensures a coherence to it which cannot be broken, especially by those who claim to be engaged in Freirean education. His analysis of all opposites is based on a dialectical conceptualisation of the internal relation between them. By so doing, he adheres to Karl Marx's dialectical analysis and presentation of our material world, the capitalist social formation, and of the consequent dehumanised ontological conditions. Freire is not terribly explicit about this. I have never understood why he has not been more explicit. Perhaps he thinks he has been. Without grasping his philosophy dialectically there can be no coherence between his analysis, his educational approach and his goals and objectives. Might it be that he gave us the task of discovering or recognising the coherence and had the confidence in us - faith in us - to do so?

I will focus on just one of his dialectical concepts, but possibly the most essential and important one, viz the oppressed/oppressor dialectic. According to the dialectical mode of analysis, the oppressed/oppressor relation is one which renders the former as subordinate and the latter as dominate; therefore it is an antagonistic contradiction. All dialectical opposites are related such that the present and historical position and condition of each could not exist outside of the way in which they are related to their opposite. In the case of the oppressed/oppressor relation, or more specifically the labour and capital relation, we find a conflictual relation. It is in the interest, whether recognised or not, of the dominate opposite to maintain the relation and in the interest, recognised or not, of the subordinate opposite to abolish the relation. The objective is not for the people who exist within the class or groups which comprise these opposites to cease to exist but the relation which determines their existence in two different and very divided groups. All human beings would be left in a position to create social relations of harmony and humanisation. This was the objective Marx formulated from his concept and critique of the labour/capital relation - one which informed, and continues to inform Freire's philosophy.

Freire's dialectical conceptualisation of the oppressor/oppressed dialectical relation has profound implication for what we mean by "liberation". First of all it means far more than liberation in the usual liberal democratic sense of the word, whereby we attain a vote via the rights of citizens. It also challenges the widespread notion that liberation has to do solely with individuals, although there is no doubt that it will have an effect on them. Liberation is a thoroughly social process with wonderful implications for the freedom to develop our individuality within the support and commune of others. Therefore liberation is a social, not an individual, effort which recognises and celebrates the fact that we are social beings, not isolated, self-striving monads. Does it not follow that liberation or education for liberation, is a process in which people struggle together with an educator, facilitator, initiator who struggles with them for objectives that are made explicit? For a long time I have told my learning colleagues (students) that it is not in my "gift" to create Freirean education. I must explain, again and again, what it is about; to challenge and problematise the "fear of freedom" that often arises, and I must also make it clear that the experience of Freirean education cannot occur without our collective endeavour in creating it. Since there is an academic qualification attached to what I teach, it would be naive of me to expect all participants to become committed. On the other hand the vast majority have done so. I think this is because there is an irresistible pull toward the logic of struggle to humanise our world.

Thus far I hope I have made the point that liberation means the abolition of a relation of oppression rather than the subordinate opposite gaining some temporary rights vis a vis the oppressor. Liberation is not about ameliorating the oppression of any oppressed group, although in a critically strategic way we might try to smooth current dehumanisation by working with people to struggle against their plights on the way to engaging in a much larger task of social transformation. Furthermore, "Liberation" or empowerment, the more contemporary term, are shams when applied to, or focused solely on, individuals. To have any authenticity these terms must be conceived of as social or collective acts with social and collective results. Those results hold the only true promise for each of us achieving our individuality, our very special contributions to the social whole.

If we use Freire's philosophy authentically, we can work towards preparing ourselves in collaboration with those with whom we learn to know (1) what is wrong -dehumanising (2) that all of this has been created by human beings who never realised there was an alternative but that there can be and (3) that all we need is the will and courage to change these oppressive conditions, the collective organisation of this desire and an accurate and therefore critical "reading" of our world of oppression. Without a dialectical understanding of that world, we won't know either where to go or to begin. Freire takes us a long way towards that understanding. Marx takes us even further towards an in depth analysis of capitalist reality. He is essential to an authentically radical interpretation and application of Freire.

I am not pleading for every conscientious Freirean educator to read and study Marx's original writings. My only plea is for a recognition of how important this dialectical conceptualisation is to a sympathetic reading of Freire. I also urge all to critically reflect on what might have been done in Freire's name by incorporating his ideas, no matter how enthusiastically, within educational methods intertwined with the "theories" of the like of Carl Rogers, Abraham Maslow and worst and most manipulative of all Malcolm Knowles. Their ideas about education are directed at changing individuals or "facilitating" them in that process. Freire's philosophy is about working with people to prepare them to collectively change their world and by so doing realise the humanisation of themselves. The objectives are totally different. The approach and methods by which each end is achieved should be coherent; they cannot be comprised of a "pick and mix." Freire is always clear regarding the fact that educators must make a political choice for liberation or domination and that they must be clear, critically conscious, about that choice.

Freire and Liberation Theology

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Liberation theology - as theological praxis, as political project and as pedagogical process-grew out of the intersection between forces in the Roman Catholic Church (including the Conference of Latin American Episcopal Council-CELAM, 1959; Vatican II, 1962-65; the Medellin Bishop's Conference, 1968), the dependency theorists (including Paul Baran, 1957; Andre Grunder Frank, 1967; and Cardoso & Faletto, 1967) and the writings of Paulo Freire (1968) and Ivan Illich (1970). This dynamic coalescence in the 1960s and early 1970s rendered a powerful critique of the liberal modernization project in Latin America. The trilogy of State, roman Catholic Church, and ruling classes were identified as perpetuating a brutal economic and political domination of the rural and urban poor majority in Latin America. While the *dependistas* analyzed the economic system, educators and theologians expanded the critique of material conditions by problematizing the colonization of the mind and the spirit.

The concept of liberation arose in direct opposition to the concept of development-specifically modernizing development that harnessed all aspects of economic, political and social life toward economic growth. Together with formal education, these forces provided a "view of the world, of life, [that] satisfies the fatalistic and frightened consciousness" (Freire, 1984: 536). As the modernization project stumbled in the late 1960's and 1970's with escalating external debt, uncontrollable inflation and the bloody repression of the common people, the crisis sharpened. Many church leaders and grassroots workers no longer wanted to be complicit in structural violence. Liberatory pedagogy intersected with liberation theology as a crisis of conscience.

Gustavo Gutierrez (1971) reclaims several historical and theological threads to understand and respond to this historical condition in Latin America. In his seminal work, *A Theology of Liberation*, that blends dependency analysis, Christian humanism and Freirean cultural action, Gutierrez details the major tenets of liberation theology where the emancipation of humanity is the desire of a God who is progressively manifesting the Kingdom of God on earth *through* human effort. As humans expend this effort, they move toward liberation and full humanization. Hence, the vocation of the Church was to actively engage the common people in critical theological reflection and in building a new and just social order; not compounding the magic and fatalism inherent in syncretic peasant belief systems. This essential shift from fatalism to activism incorporated Freire's conscientization process by providing a means that was liberating (Gutierrez 1973: 91). As Freire echoes, the Church must "really experience their own Easter, they [must] die as elitists so as to be resurrected on the side of the oppressed, [through] praxis and historical involvement" (1984:525-526). Conscientization as envisioned by Freire and Gutierrez is action-determined and class-preferential.

Gutierrez defined the ultimate tasks of humanization as the freedom to love. He quotes Bonhoeffer (1966) to elaborate this radical notion of love, "freedom is not something man [sic] has for himself but something he has for others...It is...a relationship and nothing else". Being free means "being free for the other" where one loses oneself and his or her selfishness in service [or solidarity with] the other (1973:36). Freire indicates that this is his understanding of humanization, "the quest...for liberation...will actually constitute an act of love opposing the lovelessness which lies at the heart of the oppressor's violence, lovelessness even when clothed in false generosity"(1970:29). Freire warns many times over about the mythologizing of conscientization and the reductionism to method, particularly by the middle class. This is not to say that Freire's work from within the Latin American context cannot speak to middle class North Americans, for is it Freire's understanding of humanization, further elaborated in liberation theology, that enables him to transcend boundaries with a language of possibility and hope. Nevertheless, the dimensions of colonized minds and spirits differ significantly according to the historical context. The justice and peace work of the Canadian Council of Churches for the past 25 years attests to the difficulty in effecting a liberating praxis among middle class, predominately white Christians. It is now clear that there are significant barriers of class protectionism, theological dependency and ideological cocooning that render the middle class highly resistant to alternative social relations. A liberatory process in the North must account for a majority class that is middle class and, most often, considers themselves masters of their own destiny through the tools of democracy, schooling, and the market. Finding the potential for solidarity, hope and a radical love is a complex and elusive task as a persistent modernization project reshapes the global terrain through intensified domination.

In conclusion, Freire's liberatory process is a universal challenge of humanization through praxis. Yet, too often, Freire's work is decontextualized and de-theologized. The mutual reinforcement between the work of Freire, the liberation theologians and the dependency theorists is often not clearly delineated in their cooperative task of breaking down the domination of economic, educational and theological structures for the project of liberation. While the liberation theologians required Freire's pedagogical process to animate a new theology, so is Freire's work solidly grounded in particular Christian humanist assumptions about humanization. In the North, the intersection between spiritual captivity, a comfortable material colonization and ideological domination is little problematized

Paulo Freire and the Colonial Legacy

Peter Mayo, University of Malta

Colonialism or neo-colonialism takes many forms and comprises issues concerning a "heterogeneous set" of subaltern "subject positions" (Slemon, 1995, p.45). Drawing on Mayo (1995), I shall confine myself, in this section, to the following: (a) the concepts of 'oppressor consciousness' and 'cultural invasion' and their relevance to colonialism and (b) the very complex issue of language in a post-independence situation.

These are issues which feature prominently in Freire's writings and are analysed in relation to contexts wherein colonialism , neo-colonialism and, to use Gramsci's term, 'internal colonialism' make their presence felt, often in their crudest and most violent forms. Elizabeth Lange-Christensen has discussed the notions of dependency, and the roles of the colonial traditional/ neocolonial modernizing churches (opposed to the 'prophetic' church) in this context. Given the all pervasive colonial/neocolonial nature of the different contextual backgrounds to Freire's work, it is hardly surprising therefore that Freire's writings are immersed in a post-colonial politics. His is a pedagogical politics for 'decolonising the mind' the first step towards which is that of understanding the nature of oppression and the way ideology operates to render human beings complicit in their own oppression and the oppression of others. In *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, Freire dwells at length on the means whereby the oppressed are 'domesticated' and, as a result, develop false consciousness. According to Freire, this consciousness, the result of hegemonic forces which operate on and partly shape people's experiences and subjectivities, is manifest in the internalisation by the Oppressed of their oppressor's/s' image (Freire, 1970, p.30).

Those who are oppressed in one context , therefore, can be oppressors in another. In a colonial context this might mean perpetrating racist violent acts against people constructed as different and whose characteristics do not fall within Eurocentric terms of reference. Violent racist, sexist and homophobic acts are examples of the kinds of behaviour that indicate the presence of the ‘oppressor’s’ image inside the oppressed. Such behaviour can be encouraged by a colonial strategy of 'Divide and Rule' (Freire, 1970, p.137).

The situation is exacerbated by the process of what Freire calls ‘cultural invasion’ - a sort of ‘banking education’ on a large scale. It was historically characterised by the direct imposition of the 'cultural arbitrary' of the colonisers in most sites where ‘official knowledge’ was imparted, schools being foremost.The process of 'Anglicisation' in the British colonies is an obvious example. Nowadays ‘cultural invasion’ is manifest primarily by that all pervasive type of Western Eurocentric neo-colonialism we call ‘globalisation’ and the concomitant consumeristic ideology. ‘Cultural invasion’ is the process which leads the African to see himself or herself as the ‘Black European.’ It is the sort of situation, for instance, which leads people from my country, Malta, to unwrite the strong Arab element which is part of its history in order to emphasise its so called ‘European vocation’. All this would be part of a process in which the colonised want to be identified and desire assimilation with the centres of Eurocentric colonial power.

Echoing Fromm, Freire goes on to maintain that, under such conditions of prescription and cultural invasion/dependency, freedom becomes a fearful thing for the oppressed. They would be so domesticated that any activity which entails creativity presents itself to them as a fearful journey into the unknown. As Freire argues elsewhere, creativity involves risk-taking (Freire, in Freire & Macedo, 1987, p.57), something in which the oppressed are not encouraged to indulge as they are immersed in what Freire terms the ‘culture of silence’. This is very much part of the traditional colonial situation where prescription is the order of the day and where the culture of the coloniser is constructed as being superior to that of the indigenous population whose culture is undervalorised. It is for this reason that, for instance, the 'New Jewel" Government in revolutionary Grenada insisted on a policy of learning intended to ‘Grenadise Grenadians’, to instil in the people a strong sense of worthiness, pride in their own indigenous cultures and the confidence necessary to participate in the development process. It is also for this reason that Freire emphasises praxis (action-reflection-transformative action).

There is another aspect of Freire's writings which would be of particular concern to activists/adult educators engaging in a postcolonial politics and this concerns the issue of language. Freire argues that not all that pertains to the colonial experience is irrelevant. He refers to knowledge of the coloniser’s language, in the case of the former Portuguese colonies, as proving beneficial in a post-colonial situation (in a variety of post-independence contexts). For instance, where different languages are used by different tribes, the coloniser’s language serves as ‘lingua franca’. However, if praxis is to serve as the cornerstone for the establishment of new and more democratic social relations, the emphasis ought to be placed on indigenous cultures. Moreover, where there is a national indigenous medium of expression, then this ought to be used. As Freire (1985) maintains, with reference to Guinea Bissau’s revolutionary leader, Amilcar Cabral, “Language is one of culture’s most immediate, authentic and concrete expressions” (p. 184). Freire insists that the “so-called failure” of his work in the former Portuguese colony was the result of the use of Portuguese “as the only vehicle of instruction” throughout the campaign (Freire in Freire & Macedo, 1987, p.114). The emphasis on the coloniser's language could render it a form of ‘cultural capital’, in Bourdieu’s terms, and -----a vehicle for reproducing the kind of class differences associated with the previous order (Freire in Freire & Macedo, 1987, p.110, 111). Freire argues that in situations where there is a dominant language - the colonisers's language- and subaltern languages, then the dominant language has to be learned so that people would not remain at the periphery of political / economic life. He also argues that it must be learned in a problematising manner which entails the educator's discussion of this language's ideological ingredients with the students.

A critical literacy process in a post-colonial situation would therefore constitute the means whereby the learners would be enabled to "come into consciousness", by unveiling the underlying political contradictions that are often the product of violent colonial processes.

References available upon request

REVISION AND VALIDATION OF HAVIGHURST'S SOCIAL ROLE RESEARCH

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Historical Context of Havighurst's Social Role Research

Robert J. Havighurst's theory of adult social roles and the accompanying developmental tasks has served as a basis for various adult education frameworks and other disciplines. Havighurst's 1952-1955 Kansas City Study of Adult Life culminated in a series of social role research studies (e.g., Havighurst, 1957; Havighurst & Albrecht, 1953; Havighurst & Orr, 1956) and provides a basis for revisiting the adult social roles in a contemporary setting.

Numerous adult educators have promoted the use of social roles as worthwhile when examining the characteristics of adult learners. An understanding of developmental tasks is also germane in educational program development. Knowles (1980) asserted that one of the basic assumptions concerning the adult learner was that readiness to learn is influenced by the various developmental tasks of adulthood.

American society in the decade of the 1950s was vastly different from the society of the 1990s. In general terms, the nuclear family consisted of a father/provider and a mother/care giver. Males were expected to provide for the financial and physical well being of the family. Females were expected to provide for the nurturing of both husband and children and to manage the home in an efficient manner. The increased number of divorces, greater acceptance of unwed mothers, and single parent families have resulted in a marked difference between the families of the 1950s and the families of the 1990s. Females, although present in the workplace, were represented by numbers far less than those in the workplace of today.

In the 40+ years since the Havighurst studies were undertaken, the mean age of the U.S. population has increased. The impact of health awareness, improved medical services, and safety manifests itself in a higher number of older adults within the population.

Research methods and techniques have also changed since the decade of the 1950s. Havighurst primarily used subjects whose ages ranged from 40 to 70 years. There was also evidence of middle-age/middle-class bias in the sample population upon which his studies were based. The social role concept and instruments developed by Havighurst and his associates were never fully tested for reliability or validity according to current conventions. A need existed for better identification and understanding of contemporary adult social roles and developmental events and for instruments to assess the adult social role performance. Before performance rating scales and the accompanying interview schedules could be developed, the content validation of contemporary social roles and their associated developmental tasks had to be examined.

Identification of Major Social Roles for the 1990s

It was apparent that the social role research of the 1950s needed to be reexamined in a more recent context. To revisit the concept of social roles, research was (and is being) conducted in two major stages. The first stage sought to identify the major adult social roles and associated developmental events (the term developmental event replaced Havighurst's term developmental task) for the 1990s. The second stage consists of the ongoing efforts to develop performance rating scales and interview schedules for each of the identified roles. Collection of data on populations dispersed by age, gender, and socioeconomic (SES) level is an integral part of the research for each role. Race/ethnicity was also an important concept.

To begin the comprehensive project, a research team at the University of South Florida collected information on the Havighurst studies to use as a basis of study and to initiate a review of related research. All identified roles were compiled and initially reviewed by the research team members. Subsequently, a pilot panel of six experts reviewed the roles, offered definitions, recommended name changes for several roles, and established the initial list of social roles.

The next step was to establish two expert panels--one to validate and the other to verify the major adult social roles for the 1990s. Over 40 individuals were selected nationwide for their expertise in the areas of adult education, adult development, sociology, psychology, gerontology, and other fields related to the social roles. The two separate panels, in a series of 10 rounds, validated 13 social roles and identified associated developmental events for each social role.

The final part of the identification process was to conduct a Community Survey to assess reported social role importance in an adult population dispersed by age, gender, and SES levels. A stratified quota sample of 300 respondents was separated into 30 study cells by three age categories (young 18-34 years; middle 35-64 years, older 65+ years), five SES levels (disenfranchised, working, middle, upper, and elite), and two gender groupings. Attention to race/ethnicity issues was assured by including a representative percentage of minorities in the quota sample.

The social roles identified as major by the panels and Community Survey were: Association/Club Member, Citizen, Daughter/Son, Friend, Grandparent, Home/Services Manager, Kin/Relative, Learner, Leisure Time Consumer, Parent, Religious Affiliate, Spouse/Partner, and Worker. Worth noting was that not all of the respondents in the community survey performed each of the roles. Therefore, while some roles such as parent and grandparent, are usually tremendously important to those adults who fulfill those roles, other roles, such as friend and kin/relative, received higher overall rankings because the majority of adults perform these roles. Significant differences in both perceived importance and reported participation were shown by age, SES, and gender in several of the roles as indicated by the survey respondents.

While this research was exploratory in nature and the use of the quota sampling techniques and other study factors preclude generalizability, the study served to content validate the major adult social roles in the 1990s. The study also affirmed Havighurst's Kansas City Study, because with the exception of the friend and worker roles, the rank ordering of the roles between the two respondent groups was similar after almost 50 years. The family cluster roles--spouse/partner, parent, daughter/son, kin/relative, and friend--were among the most highly ranked roles in the two studies, while the personal cluster--association/club, religious affiliate, and citizen were at the bottom of both the Community Survey and the Kansas City Study.

Although the current studies are to update the earlier work of Havighurst, the current studies differ, in some regards, from the former. For instance, the role of adult learner was not addressed in the any of Havighurst's original studies. Further, there were major descriptive changes in several of the identified roles (e.g., citizen, home services manager, and spouse/partner).

Developing an Assessment Process for the Identified Roles

Once the contemporary adult social roles and their associated developmental events were identified, performance rating scales and interview schedules had to be revised or developed to address current social role activities and developmental events. The assessment process began by addressing the three social roles of parent, spouse/partner, and worker. Revision involved the construction of separate performance rating scales based on entry, intermediate, and advanced phases for each of the three roles. Scales included explicit behavior and skill criteria for the purpose of rating individuals. Separate sets of interview items were also developed for each phase of each role. Content validation procedures outlined by Crocker and Algina (1986) were followed in the construction and validation of the performance rating scales and the interview schedules with the assistance of separate panels of experts in measurement and the specific content domains.

A pilot panel was asked to perform a card sort ordering the performance levels of the scale descriptions for each phase of a social role and to remove statements from the descriptions which contained age, gender, or ethnic bias. Revised products from the pilot panels were then presented to initial scale panels for continued development. Initial scale panels were asked to sort the strands for each role phase without the benefit of the remainder of the role phase performance level description. While this increased the difficulty, it aided in isolating the exact area of a description which required rewriting. A third panel group, the scale verification panels, were asked to validate the scales for language clarity and completeness of description.

Once scales for the three phases of each social role were validated, sets of 15 to 20 interview items were developed for each role phase to provide for specific criteria assessment of individual role performance. Item relevance, completeness, and representativeness ratings were completed by the fourth panel group, the interview verification panel. Interview verification panel members were also given an opportunity to restate the information and to eliminate extraneous material. Final modifications were made to the interview item sets following a field-test on 26 to 28 subjects per role.

A pilot study was conducted using the final interview sets and scales to rate role performance on stratified samples for each role with equal numbers of men and women, in the three age groups (18-34 years, 35-64 years, and 65+years) and across five SES levels (disenfranchised, working, middle, upper, and elite). Test-retest data was estimated with a Pearson correlation coefficient. Inter-rater reliability and inter-rater agreement were computed for each role respectively as represented by a correlation coefficient and Cohen's Kappa. SES, gender, and age patterns were explored across social role performance ratings with the use of a three-way analysis of variance and Tukey post- hoc multiple comparisons.

The above discussed procedures were utilized in the development of the first three social role performance rating scales and interview schedules. These procedures are being used with the next seven roles and will be used for the remaining three social roles.

Findings Based on Gender, Age, and Socioeconomic Level

Abney (1992/1993) and McCoy (1993) used age, gender, and socioeconomic (SES) levels as the primary variables in their studies. A Community Survey was developed as a data collection instrument. Abney's (1992/1993) research mainly emphasized the middle three SES levels. He concluded that the roles of friend, spouse/partner, kin/relative, daughter/son, and parent were the most important roles as reported by the survey participants. More importantly, gender, age, and SES level differences were observed for several of the roles. Social role importance by gender found that females rated the home/services manager and religious affiliate role performance significantly higher than their male counterparts. Males rated the worker and citizen roles higher than females. Social role importance by age indicated that young adults rated the citizen and grandparent roles significantly lower than the middle-age and older-age groups. The worker role was significantly more important for the middle age groups. Older age groups identified the daughter/son and worker roles as significantly less important than the other two age groups.

Further research by McCoy (1993) on social role importance focused on the two SES levels not studied by Abney, the elite and disenfranchised groups. In this study, McCoy utilized the Community Survey developed by Abney. Social role importance by SES revealed that the roles of association/club and worker were rated significantly lower than most other roles by the disenfranchised SES level. The disenfranchised SES level respondents rated the learner, citizen, and worker roles significantly lower than the other SES groups. The disenfranchised also rated the home/services manager and religious affiliate roles higher than the other levels. For the social role importance of association/club member, the elite tended to rate the role significantly higher than the disenfranchised. Overall, the elite and disenfranchised SES levels had markedly greater differences than those of the other three SES levels.

Kirkman (1994) revised the performance rating instrument and scales to address current developmental events. Kirkman examined gender, SES (the middle levels only), and age pattern existence for the roles of parent, spouse/partner, and worker. Older adults scored higher than the young adults or middle-age group on the worker role. Parent role differences were apparent based on age, SES, and gender; however, pattern existence was not observed. In the spouse/partner role, no age, gender, or SES patterns were exhibited.

Research on the extreme SES levels of disenfranchised and elite for the roles of parent, spouse/partner, and worker is currently being conducted. Comparisons across all SES levels for these three roles should be available soon.

Implications of the Social Role Research

The updating of Robert J. Havighurst's social roles serves to content validate the U.S. major adult social roles for the 1990s. The stimulus for the research undertaken was the premise that Havighurst's findings had been widely accepted and used in adult education. Specifically identified social roles, along with the associated developmental events, provide input to a structural framework which facilitates the preparation of learning activities for adults.

Havighurst and his associates in the 1950s realized the importance of social roles and development tasks as tools for adult educators. Other areas of importance included the concept of transitional change and its impact on the adult's readiness to learn.

Social roles data can provide educators with crucial information necessary for the design, development, and implementation of instructional programs for adults. Adult educators provided with the knowledge of social roles and developmental events should be more effective in creating efficient learning programs. Havighurst (1955) introduced an important concept which he called the "teachable moment." The underlying premise of this concept is a strong urgency to learn within a short period of time. Knowledge of social roles coupled with developmental events and the concept of the teachable moment can help facilitate the acquisition of skills and behaviors needed by adults.

Social Role Research: What's Needed Next

Stage one, the identification and validation of the social roles, has been completed. Data based on a community survey quota sample of 300 individuals in the Tampa Bay Area with an equal number of respondents grouped by age, gender, and SES level have been collected. Additional data outside the Tampa Bay Area could be studied using the techniques and procedures defined within this study. In addition, an in-depth study of racial/ethnic differences remains to be accomplished. While briefly addressed by both Abney (1992/1993) and McCoy (1993), race and ethnicity could be more comprehensibly studied to identify differences, if any, based on these variables.

Stage two research is continuing. The roles of parent, spouse/partner, and worker have been accomplished; however, this research used truncated SES levels (i.e., only the middle three levels were used) to collect data. Currently research efforts are underway to complete these three roles.

Additional roles of learner, leisure-time consumer, friend, religious affiliate, association/club member, kin/relative, and home/services manager are being researched to develop performance rating scales and interview schedules across gender, age, and SES level groups. Upon completion of these studies, an expansion of the research effort beyond the Tampa Bay Area and/or addressing racial ethnic differences is warranted. In the near future, research on the additional roles of citizen, grandparent, and daughter/son is anticipated.

Once all performance rating scales and interview schedules have been revised based on study recommendations, the next steps will be to assess performance ratings for all roles simultaneously. Importance and/or effort on particular roles should be able to be determined. Specific population differences can also be highlighted.

What motivates individuals to continue their education becomes a crucial issue related to social role performance. The next stage might be to identify which roles create stronger motivation for people to perform well. The motivation of adults to seek educational activities or to continue their learning carries with it strong implications for those within and outside of the field of adult education.

Ultimately, instructors, counselors, administrators, and program developers can benefit from the results of this on-going research. In the long-run, after information has been collected, it will undoubtedly be time to recollect data on the appropriateness of the social roles and associated developmental events. In other words, once the research has been completed, it will be time to start all over again-- resolving the types of problems presented by Havighurst's research of the 1950s.

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POWER MATTERS: THE END OF INNOCENCE IN ADULT EDUCATION PROGRAM PLANNING

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Abstract: The purpose of this symposium is to make public the crucial debate about our political and ethical responsibilities as adult education curriculum and program planners.

Background and Problem Statement: Nearly all curriculum and program planning theory in adult education attempts to improve planning practice by prescribing a set of principled procedures as a way of optimally ordering and directing our planning activities. Despite multiple variations, the scientific logic underlying these principles as well as the essential steps themselves have remained virtually unchanged since their introduction into the field of adult education in the 1930s (Wilson & Cervero, 1995). This tradition continues largely unabated today as new texts appear that reproduce the dominance of the procedural model in adult education planning theory (e.g., Caffarella, 1994). The major point of this tradition of theory is to say that the planner's chief responsibility is largely a technical one of implementing planning steps (conducting needs assessment, formulating objectives, organizing content, planning instruction, administering the program, evaluating, etc.). The problem with this technical rational tradition (Schon, 1983) is that it selectively organizes our attention to only certain of our responsibilities as planners (Forester, 1989) which directly affects which planning activities we focus on. In effect, the concentration on instrumental processes in the technical tradition effectively ignores planners' political and moral responsibilities in planning programs and curricula for adults.

Related Literature and Symposium Purpose: The debate over the limitations of the technical model began most dramatically with Schwab's (1969) ringing indictment of the Tylerian framework in the curriculum field as moribund and incapable of improving practice. Since then an increasing number of critical, postmodern, reconstructionist, feminist, and poststructuralist voices have attempted to overcome those limitations to the extent that Pinar and Bowers (1992) were able to claim that the debate had erased the "apolitical blindspot" in the field of curriculum. Although less pronounced, a similar movement has emerged in adult education curriculum and program planning discussions. Freire (1970) is clearly the first contemporary critical voice. Likewise, Griffin (1983) has argued for a curriculum that accounts for knowledge, culture, and power; Usher (1991) has pointed to the central question of "how to act rightly." Hart (1990) has detailed a planning theory for feminist consciousness raising. Cervero and Wilson (1994) have argued that program planning is a social practice of negotiating power and interests. This debate in adult education parallels the call in curriculum theory for planning practice that replaces the political and moral innocence assumed by the dominant model with a responsibility beyond procedural competence. With this critique as framework, the movement beyond technical competence is the overall purpose of the presentations. Even so, the various political strategies and ethical commitments such a view exposes require discussion, elaboration, and debate. Just as the dominant technical tradition has failed us in its attempt to provide one solution to all curriculum and planning problems, we cannot assume that a single political-ethical framework will suffice either. Therefore, given that curriculum and program planning is a social process embedded in historically-evolving situations, discussants in this symposium will present different theoretical formulations and practical implications for what our political and moral responsibilities should be as planners.

Significance to the Field of Adult Education: As with education in general, adult educators for over a generation have insisted upon technical competence but moral and political innocence. The significance of this symposium lies primarily in making public the crucial debate about our political and ethical responsibilities as adult education curriculum and program planners.

Knowledge, Power, and Identity: Planning Theory's Construct of Adult Education Practice

Arthur L. Wilson

Power is a regular reality in our lived experience. Yet we live in a time when conventional notions of understanding power--structural functionalism, symbolic interactionism, conflict theory--lie in shards about us, for none has produced an adequate explanation of the workings of power in that experience. In the new social analysis--poststructuralism in linguistics, new cultural history, critical language studies, discourse analysis, new historicism in literary theory--the existence, exercise, and effects of power are of central concern with many intellectual avenues and methodological byways leading to Foucault (Hicks, 1995; Hunt, 1989; Luke, 1995). Historically we have traced the workings of power to the individual, class, and the state (Foucault in Rabinow, 1984; Kramer, 1989). Foucault's move was to ask how subjectivities are constituted through discursive formations, to ask how power manifests itself in structures of meaning and how those structures "position" humans in relation to each other (Foucault in Rabinow, 1984; Luke, 1995). His "genealogies" have demonstrated the structure and effects of social positioning by showing how power operates through "normalization," not hierarchies of coercion. Foucault's work shows that discursive formations represent dominant sets of understandings of how the world works and people's relations to each other in it, which, as social participants, we come to accept as normal in a way that Gramscii would call common sense. Power thus emanates from structures of knowledge and procedures, which Foucault refers to as "technologies of power," to define through the workings of disciplines and social practices (e.g., medicine, psychiatry, criminology, education) others as subjects--subjects not in a Cartesian, Lockean, Maslowian manner, able to self-actualize through rational will. But subjects in the experimental or scientific sense of being objects, objects as recipients of the manipulations and effects of "knowledge-power regimes." So in the new social analysis, technologies of power and constituted subjectivities are of central concern (Luke, 1995; O'Brien, 1989). With these normalized power relations as the central reality of modern life, the new social analyses focus on revealing relations of domination and subject positions by asking the question of how discourse is involved in the construction of knowledge, power, and identity. By seeing whose interests those relations of knowledge, power, and identity serve, we can create a sense of agency by challenging their taken-for-granted dominance (Luke, 1995).

What do questions of knowledge, power, and identity have to do with adult education? We believe the identity of the field--the construction of its subjectivities--is a relationship of power in terms of how knowledge is created to define legitimate practice. By analyzing conventional planning theory, we can see precisely what Foucault means by a knowledge-power regime. While there are lots of different kinds of adult education, as the field professionalized in the 1930s, a certain language/discourse comes into play about how to plan programs which in turn defines what adult education should be. Why does this particular version of the world emerge and whose material and symbolic interests does it serve? Technical rational planning theory discourse serves the professionalization interests (Wilson & Cervero, 1995)--we know that. So why does it matter? This question matters because the discourse is not just about producing programs but sustaining relations of domination--it allows one set of interests to control the structure of the field. The point is not the rise of conventional planning theory but the relation of power it creates and symbolizes through a dominant discourse. To see that relationship of power, Luke (1995) argues that we have to "denaturalize" our common sense in order to see how dominant discourses contribute "to the differential production of power and subjectivity" (p. 11). Denaturalizing reveals the formation of meaning and questions the subjectivity it creates. As Foucault argues (in Rabinow, 1984; Luke, 1995), power creates truth and hence its own legitimation. Thus our central point is that adult education planning theory establishes, authorizes, and maintains "legitimate" power relations (knowledge-power regimes) that constitute subjectivities in terms of what is legitimate practice, who can be an adult educator, who the learners should be. The success of this discursive formation is marked by the fact that planning gets narrowly defined in technical terms which leaves no discursive place in theory for the political and ethical aspects of practice. By denaturalizing the common sense view of planning theory, we can see why this view dominates and whose interests it serves in terms of what kind of adult education gets planned and legitimated. By asking about relations of knowledge, power, identity, and interests, we will see the silenced and excluded ways of planning adult education programs.

Of Babies and Bathwater: A Friendly Critique of Conventional Planning Theory

Thomas J. Sork

Conventional planning theory, as found in adult education literature, foregrounds the technical dimensions of planning and often ignores the political and ethical aspects that are of particular concern to feminists, postmodernists, and other contemporary critics of education. These critics have challenged the hegemony of the *Tyler Rationale*--and technical-rational orientations in general--as a basis for planning but have not yet proposed alternative ways of thinking about planning that do not in some important way rely on central elements of the *Tyler Rationale*, especially the logical link between intentions and actions. It is difficult to conceive of a useful planning model that does not employ "intention" as a central construct or that ignores the important role of technique. A planning theory that ignores technique is bound to fail as either an explanatory framework or a set of prescriptions for practice because a good deal of planning concerns technique. Placing politics and ethics in the foreground of planning theory is a useful shift from conventional planning approaches, but a planning theory must also deal directly with technique or it is incomplete. Put another way, the dynamics of planning involve a dialectic between the political/ethical and the technical. The challenge to planning theorists is to construct frameworks that take into account *all* the dimensions of planning. Recognizing the continuing value of conventional approaches to planning while reformulating them to foreground the political/ethical and to respond to the challenges raised by feminists, postmodernists, and other critics seems like the most promising path to improved understanding of a process that is fundamental to adult education. But responding to the critics does not necessarily mean accepting the criticism since doing so would lead to the rejection of much *useful* and *important* conceptual and theoretical work.

Cervero and Wilson (1994) describe planning as a process of negotiating power and interests. They emphasize the power relations between planning actors and the ethical stances that planners takes as they engage in the highly political "people work" of planning. This shift away from conventional ways of thinking about planning is an important contribution, but a great deal of work remains to be done to develop more complete ways of understanding the complexities of planning. An important strength of conventional planning theory is that it provides practitioners with conceptual and procedural tools they can use in their work. Unfortunately, these tools have often been presented in an uncritical way that fails to acknowledge their limitations and provides little insight into the consequences of using them (or *not* using them) in a particular context. Good examples of this are the concept of need and the process of needs assessment. Both can be powerful tools to both engage in and understand planning, but they are often treated as unproblematic and devoid of ethical or political content. Rejecting these because they are the product of conventional planning theory would substantially weaken our ability to understand and engage in planning, but continuing to treat them as unproblematic technical matters is not acceptable because we know they have serious limitations as elements in educational planning.

This analysis leaves those of us who are interested in developing planning theory with a challenge: to develop a set of expectations or criteria that we should satisfy as we develop new ways of thinking about planning. These criteria should not be ones that limit our work or the range of perspectives that might emerge from that work. Rather, these criteria should challenge us to develop theories that incite adult educators to think about planning in new, more complex and critical ways that better reflect the multiple realities of practice.

The Politics of "Inclusivity" in Curriculum and Program Planning

Elizabeth J. Tisdell

In recent years many education theorists and program planners informed by Afro-centric, critical, and feminist theoretical frames have pointed out that no educational curriculum or program is politically neutral (Banks, 1993; Collins, 1991; Flannery, 1994; hooks, 1994; Minnich, 1990). Thus, many of these writers have discussed and made apparent the implicit political assumptions underlying the "mainstream" curriculum in adult education and program planning literature or in the more general education literature. Clearly much of the adult education curriculum and program planning literature is informed by a Knowlesian self-directed learning philosophy that emphasizes the fulfillment of learning interests and goals of individual (generic) learners (who are generically assumed to be white, middle class, and probably male). Clearly there are dilemmas to be reckoned with if one is commissioned to create an "inclusive" curriculum or program for those who have embraced or been informed by a Knowlesian self-directed learning philosophy that suggests that (seemingly generic) learners focus primarily on what they want to learn, which may or may not include anything about what it means to be "inclusive." How might one deal with some of the dilemmas that arise when one takes into account the politics of creating an "inclusive" curriculum or program?

First, it is imperative to consider some of the politics of curriculum and program planning. Some of these politics are inherent in the politics of knowledge production and dissemination, since programs are ultimately designed to produce and disseminate knowledge. Minnich notes:

> Behind any particular body of accepted knowledge are the definitions, the boundaries, established by those who have held power. To disagree with those boundaries and definitions, it has been necessary to recognize them; to refuse them is to be shut out even from debate; to transgress them is to mark oneself as mad, heretical, dangerous. The assumptions and the form of a position mark it as admissible or inadmissible to the discourses of knowledge. So too does the kind of person (a person whose "kind" has been pre-established by the culture) affect whether what is said or written is listened to as knowledge or not. (1990, pp. 151-152)

These words by Minnich call attention to some of the key issues involved in the politics and process of knowledge production and dissemination, and of planning: (1) underlying power relations among stakeholders in the program, including planners, administrators, and the learners; (2) the boundaries and definitions of what has counted as knowledge (by the organization and all its stakeholders); (3) the significance of the "kind" of people (i.e., the gender, race, class, etc.) involved in the dynamic process of knowledge production and dissemination, and their relative positions in relationship to the power structure. These intertwined factors are always key to understanding how "knowledge" is produced and disseminated, either in "one shot" adult education programs or in ongoing curricula in adult education graduate programs.

Attending to the organizational politics of knowledge production involved in program planning highlighted by the Minnich quotation above is crucial to creating "inclusive" programs. But it is also equally important to define what is meant by "inclusive" in a specific situation, to ask the questions "inclusive of whom?" and "in what contexts?" Give the increasing diversity of our society, I would argue that it is imperative for educators of all age levels to work at creating inclusive programs, even in situations where all the members of a particular learning group are the same gender or the same race. Program planners might consider three levels or contexts of inclusivity in designing programs: (1) the diversity of those present in the context of the learning activity itself in the curriculum and pedagogical/andragogical style of the program; (2) the wider and immediate institutional contexts in which the participants work and live; and (3) the societal context in which we all live that is becoming increasingly more diverse. Planning responsibly and practically requires attending to inclusivity in all three of these contexts, as well as to the politics of inclusivity itself, to issues of power and interests, and to the relationship among these three contexts. Clearly more work needs to be done in developing a theory and practice of program planning that attends to the issues and politics of inclusivity (for a more thorough discussion, see Tisdell, 1995).

Beyond Innocence in Program Planning: Our Issues and Responsibilities in Graduate Education

Ronald M. Cervero

Graduate courses about program planning are not mere sites of instruction. They are also political and cultural sites that represent a struggle for meaning and power (hooks, 1994; Mohanty, 1994). Like any other adult education activity, graduate courses about program planning are places where "power and politics operates out of the lived culture of individuals and groups situated in asymmetrical social and political positions" (Mohanty, 1994, p. 147). I argue that the very same questions we ask about scholarship and practice in program planning can be raised in relation to our own teaching and learning practices in graduate classes. The purpose of this session is to identify dilemmas and responsibilities faced by faculty and students once axes of power are made transparent in teaching about program planning in adult education. These issues are illustrated by examining my experiences when teaching about program planning.

The session first briefly examines the reasons for the continued reliance on procedural models that dominate the literature (Sork & Busky, 1986) in courses on program planning. These models certainly serve a *psychological* function for they appear to provide certainty in the face of social and organizational conflict. Yet, adult educators know that their planning work occurs in a world of differential power and privilege based on many social markers, including race, gender, class, and organizational position. Thus, silence in these theories about power serves the *political* function of maintaining social privilege and masking adult educators' responsibilities. However, when social and organizational axes of power are made visible in program planning courses, a number of issues arise.

One set of issues centers on the consequences of asking people to place their program planning efforts in the on-going struggles for meaning and power in the world. When asking people to consider their work as grounded in the interests of people and social power relations, several issues arise, such as: 1) how do teachers and learners create a "safe" learning environment, and 2) how does a teacher articulate an ethical stance and, at the same time provide the pedagogical space for conflicting ethical viewpoints to be articulated. The second set of issues centers on the correspondences and contradictions between the overt content of program planning courses and how power and interests are actually negotiated in program planning courses. As faculty and students, it is essential to ask what program planning practices we are modeling, and more importantly, how those practices can be critiqued and changed.

The adults in our classes know full well that planning courses operate on two levels: they see what we teach about program planning, but they also see what we practice about program planning. This means we must look unflinchingly at our own teaching and our programs--not only at what we say about power but also at what we actually do with and about it in graduate programs. Accordingly, I believe our responsibility as faculty is to provide the pedagogical spaces to deal with power and politics and to locate ourselves in these on-going struggles, not only in the larger arena of adult education but also in the disciplinary, pedagogical, and institutional locations of our own universities and courses. In order to do this, we must offer ways to theorize and politicize our experiences as adult educators inside as well as outside the university setting.

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